The Fort Sutter Papers

with

Historical and Critical Commentaries

by

SEYMOUR DUNBAR

LIBRARY
Brigham Young University
RARE BOOK COLLECTION

Vault
Quarto
973.62
F77
1921

ONE OF TWENTY COPIES

PRINTED FOR

REFERENCE AND STUDY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

https://archive.org/details/transcriptoffort00kern

The Fort Sutter Papers

A Transcript

of

The Fort Sutter Papers

Together with the

Historical Commentaries Accompanying Them

Brought together in One Volume for

Purposes of Reference

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Fort Sutter Papers

An Historical and Critical Introduction

to the

Manuscripts in the Collection

together with a list of

The Volumes and of the Manuscripts Contained in Each

An Historical and Critical Summary of the Fort Sutter Papers

THESE papers are the original manuscript records, orders, and correspondence assembled by Lieutenant Edward M. Kern at Sutter's Fort while he was in command of the Sacramento Valley during the Bear Flag Revolt and the Conquest of California in 1846 and 1847. Their unexpected discovery during this present year of 1921, long after all hope of their appearance had been abandoned by students of the vital matters in question, constitutes an event whose importance requires no comment. It is sufficient to say that no documents more intimately associated with the acquisition of California by the United States, or which might reveal more new knowledge regarding the personages and details involved in that transaction, could have been brought to light.

The manuscripts which follow were written by their authors as part of the day's work. It was not possible for those men to see the future consequences of their deeds and of the documents whereby their acts were inspired and recorded.

We of this generation can now understand what they were doing. The men who wrote these papers were adding a new empire to the national domain; were elevating the American Republic to the rank of a World Power; and were profoundly and permanently altering the political, economic, and social conditions of mankind. So much for the place of these documents among others which have shaped world history.

Modern civilization and existing human affairs may be likened to a vast and elaborate mosaic design. The significance of the Fort Sutter Papers can be grasped by an attempt to mentally subtract the deeds and events which they record from that mosaic. The effort would fail. It is not possible to mentally construct the world of to-day without the use of these writings and the acts and circumstances of which they formed an essential part.

To their status as unique historical source material of first rank there seems to be added a peculiar interest of romantic quality involving a tragedy already well known and a mystery that is perhaps unsolvable.

That portion of the papers dealing with the Bear Flag revolution in California; with the assembling, equipment, and activities of the California Volunteers; and with subsequent operations on the Pacific Coast under the United States flag, was lost in the New Mexico mountains during Fremont's disastrous

expedition in the winter of 1848–9. A known effort to recover them and other abandoned property resulted in the deaths of Doctor Benjamin Kern and the celebrated guide known as "Old Bill" Williams, and a failure of their quest. Yet here are the papers in company with various later documents of Lieutenant Kern, to whom they belonged during his command at Sutter's Fort in the days of 1846 and 1847. Also, with them, are certain allied papers and maps of Edward Kern's brother, Richard. It is therefore obvious that the lost manuscripts were found and restored to Lieutenant Kern at some indeterminate time after the tragedy in the mountains, but concerning when or how they were discovered and returned to him the papers themselves do not afford a definite clue. Such information on those points as is contained in the manuscripts, or which may justifiably be deduced from them, is hereafter presented in the commentaries attached to certain individual volumes. Nor is it now probable that the mystery of their recovery can be cleared up. We must content ourselves with the simple fact that they do exist.

Leaving for a later portion of this commentary a more detailed consideration of the manuscripts themselves, it seems desirable at this point to envisage the ever memorable spot where they were first brought together.

Among all the famous places of the earth, whereat have been enacted dramas whose influence upon the affairs of men transcend definition, there are perhaps a dozen spots that stand apart as a supreme group whose renown seems destined to defy the ages. To that group belong the Forum at Rome, the Acropolis at Athens, Stratford-on-Avon, Galileo's observatory, Plymouth Rock, Newton's study, the field of Waterloo, and Independence Hall. To that group belongs Sutter's Fort, for the life of all peoples and all nations has been profoundly affected by things that found their origin within its walls.

Sutter's Fort was about two years old at the beginning of the events to which these manuscripts relate, and at the time when the first of them was written and put away within its precincts. Its construction had probably been begun by Sutter in 1841, and it was doubtless finished in 1844. The labor involved in its creation had chiefly been performed by Indians under direction of the remarkable personality for whom it was erected. When completed the fort was a rectangle some five hundred feet long and a hundred and fifty feet wide, enclosed in gray walls of adobe about eighteen feet high and three feet in thickness. Two towers arose at corners of the structure, and the walls were pierced with loopholes. About a dozen small brass and iron cannon commanded the entrance-gate or were emplaced in the bastions. Inside the enclosure arose a secondary or smaller wall which surrounded a roofed-over area that was divided into numerous apartments. These apartments were variously used as living quarters, granaries, offices, and store-rooms, and it was in one of them, without question, that Kern lived and kept these records. Several additional and smaller buildings, some of adobe and others of wooden construction, were situated within the compound.

Such was Sutter's Fort in 1846, and such in general terms it still remains, for the place it holds in human history has been recognized and has resulted in its preservation.

To this Wilderness stronghold Edward Kern came as commander in June of 1846, under strange circumstances that are set forth in their appropriate place elsewhere. By his performance of the unexpected duties that fell upon him in that situation, in a crisis not foreseen by him and amid the difficulties and troubled events with which these manuscripts deal, he twice engraved his name upon the map of the region that beheld his work, and aided in the Conquest which added California to the American union of states.

Of Kern himself, unfortunately, not much is known save what can be gathered from these papers. Yet from the many and diverse manuscripts which have now so unexpectedly come to light (whose greatest value is of course the testimony they bear concerning deeds and events) we can also construct in fair measure a portrait of his character.

At the time of his projection into the affairs of the Conquest he was but twenty-four years old, yet his papers bear conclusive testimony to his possession of qualities not ordinarily associated with such an age. It should not be inferred that he beheld, with the eye of a seer, those distant and future results of the days which contained his experiences, but it is nevertheless true that he proved, by his acts, that he profoundly appreciated the importance of the events into which fate had thrust him.

His careful, purposeful, methodical preservation of these writings was such a demonstration. Nor did his course in the respect named begin only after he took charge of the Fort and its prisoners. More than three months previously, almost on his first advent into California, he had made his manuscript copy of Castro's edict of March 8th against Fremont, and had thereafter preserved it. To that action on his part we owe our only known text of the pronunciamento in question, whose existence has heretofore been a matter of speculation. After his entrance into the Fort as its recognized military commander he apparently kept everything of documentary nature which he received, whatever might be its origin, its character, its size, or its apparent degree of importance. To this quality of thoroughness thus manifested by him we owe the priceless yet seemingly insignificant scrap of paper on which Hardy submitted his bill covering the early movements of the Bear Flag revolutionists. And Kern was not content with preserving only the messages which came to him from others. On many occasions, as the collection attests, he wrote drafts of his replies, reports, or muster-rolls, and likewise put them away with the documents to which they constituted his answers. His adherence to these practices was one of the human traits that stamp him as a man beyond his years in executive capacity, judgment, and discretion. No doubt it was a recognition of his character in those regards which impelled others of greater experience and higher station to entrust him with responsibilities rarely bestowed on men who are mere youths if age be measured by the calendar alone.

Still another significant indication of his capacity is to be found in his performance with relation to the Donner Party. He acted at once in an emergency involving extreme hardship, danger, and responsibility, without waiting for instructions. His attitude was never represented by the query: "What shall I

do?" It was his habit, rather, to tell what he had already done, with a calm assurance that he had done the right thing. Another instance of that sort is his report narrating his campaign against the Indians in defense of the settlers of Bear Creek.

Nor was this all, for his whole course with regard to these papers; first during the period of their creation and assemblage by him; afterward by his preservation and retention of them when he went back to the East; again by his inclusion of them in the personal material taken on the Expedition of 1848; and finally, the long and persistent search instituted and maintained by him to recover them after their enforced abandonment; all serve to demonstrate his recognition of the manuscripts as invaluable historical records. In his entire attitude toward his responsibilities and toward the records of his work he consistently manifested his striking divergence from the average young man of the time who was his equal only in years.

A still further and important revelation of another side to Kern's character is to be found in the documents touching upon the catastrophe to Fremont's Expedition of 1848 and the reasons that impelled him to break with his former commander at Taos. From them we gather the conviction that anything that savored of unfairness was repugnant to him and necessitated condemnation by him. Kern's espousal of the reliability and capacity of Old Bill Williams, as demonstrated by his action in entrusting his brother's life to Williams after Fremont had denounced the great guide as incompetent, is a most significant incident. And Williams justified Edward Kern's faith, for the guide did not return alone and report to Edward that Benjamin Kern was dead. Williams died with Doctor Kern.

No one can study this material, contemplate Kern's acts and methods as revealed by it, and consider his attitude toward it without being assured that he had much insight into the deeper significance of the events of which he was part, had weighed them with appraising thought and perhaps had determined to use them in a recital of his own. Indeed, there are several manuscripts (notably Jacob Snyder's final letter) which almost compel a conviction that Kern entertained such a purpose. No doubt his friends, Revere and Bryant, whose printed narratives appeared in 1849, had expressed to him their intention to write of the period which they beheld in common with him, and he must surely have appreciated how much more he could tell than they.

Yet if such a plan existed it was thwarted or delayed by reasons that may, perhaps, be guessed at, but that cannot be set down now with certainty. In this particular connection a passage in Jacob Snyder's last letter is significant, for it suggests that some one else was still seeking to use these papers.

They were not used, however, either by Kern himself or by any other man. They disappeared, and with their disappearance there seemingly vanished the only opportunity to obtain an authoritative answer to many questions relating to the Conquest.

The gap in history which the Fort Sutter Papers now supply has long been recognized. Sutter's Fort, by virtue of its position, was the principal interior station of the Bear Flag Party and later of the Volunteers and other governmental forces. It was Fremont's land base for supplies, his prison for captives, and was commanded by his comrade, friend, and intimate. Nevertheless, for seventy-five years the investigation of historian and student who have sought its records has been summed up in the statement: "But little is known regarding the events and conditions attending Kern's administration."

Now, at last, the originals of Kern's records have been found. It is sufficient here to say that they fill practically all the previously existing gaps in the history of the Conquest, and, in addition, present various personages in new and unexpected aspects, contribute to our knowledge of the West subsequent to the Conquest, and for the first time reveal the man who commanded at Sacramento.

Here are Castro's Proclamation of March 8th; Hardy's original manuscript bill, rendered to the United States, for the transportation of the Sonoma Captives to the Fort and for other Bear Flag services; the original manuscript copy of Commodore Sloat's Proclamation of Annexation which was written on board the *Savannah* in Monterey Harbor and sent to the Fort; the original manuscript appeal for freedom addressed to Kern by the Sonoma Captives and his correspondence with Montgomery concerning them and Fremont's instructions regarding them; the letters of Missroon; the original manuscript of Revere's "Call all Americans to Arms" letter; Edwin Bryant's proposal for raising men to recapture Los Angeles; Montgomery's letters and orders to Kern; drafts of Kern's replies to Montgomery; the plan to send news to Howison in Oregon; Pickett's letters in denunciation of the administration of Hull and Mervine; Kern's records of garrison affairs; the Fort Sutter muster-rolls and pay-rolls; the appeal for help sent by the settlers of Bear Creek; William A. Richardson's assertion of neutrality during the pending struggle; Kern's report on his campaign against the Indians; Fallon's report from Bear Creek; messages from Fremont (one of which bears the signature of the Explorer as Military Commandant of the territory); a collection of unknown material relating to the rescue of the Donner Party; the letters of McKinstry; of Snyder; of Watmough; of Gillespie; Kern's contract establishing the first postal service in California on behalf of the United States; a document by Semple establishing Fremont's leadership of the Bear Flag activities before his elevation to that position by the Sonoma Convention; and a mass of other documents whose existence has previously been unknown, and much too varied for detailed enumeration here.

These, and the other papers in the collection have been discussed in the respective volumes where they have now been permanently preserved. The circumstances relating to Fremont's little known Fourth Expedition, the disaster in which it was involved, the loss of Kern's manuscripts, and the rupture between Fremont and the Kern brothers have also received due attention, as has the important scientific work performed by both Edward and Richard Kern in the Southwest after the split with Fremont at Taos. The concluding

volume is devoted to the archæological and ethnological engravings and maps published by the United States Government as a result of the explorations and studies made by the Kerns while they were members of the Simpson and Sitgreaves Expeditions.

Such is a brief summary of this invaluable documentary discovery, leaving a more detailed commentary on the individual manuscripts to a closer association with the originals themselves.

Seymour Dunbar.

Preface

THE contents of the volumes include one hundred and sixty-one manuscripts, one hundred and two engraved plates, and ten maps. In arranging and presenting the material for its permanent preservation and study it has been thought desirable to discuss each manuscript or group of allied documents in the same volume with such manuscript or group, rather than in this preliminary volume. By pursuance of that method the significance and interest of any given paper, and its intimate relationship to the historical events with which it deals, have been brought into the closest possible association with the original manuscript itself. The inherent importance of the papers is such that their assemblage in permanent form forbade ostentation and required only the simplicity and dignity that best befitted their own quality.

The manuscripts have been grouped in a manner to facilitate their historical investigation and to accentuate their relationships to one another. Certain pieces of outstanding prominence, or that embody extraordinary importance of one sort or another have necessarily been treated separately, but whenever it has seemed desirable or possible the material has been arranged in groups determined either by the authorship of the papers or the subject matters with which they severally deal.

The preliminary "arrangement of the manuscripts" discloses, in a single compact table, the volume position of any given paper. Following that tabulation there will be found a catalogue of the manuscripts showing their authorship and summarizing their character.

A study of the documents, however, has disclosed that in numerous cases the same events are discussed in manuscripts which possess different origins. A typical case of the sort is that to be found in the letters and orders sent by Commodore Montgomery to Kern (which are collected into one volume), and in Kern's answering reports to Montgomery (assembled in a different volume). Wherever such situations have arisen the correspondence has been grouped in volumes according to its origin, and due references to closely related manuscripts found elsewhere have been incorporated in the introductions.

The introduction to each separate volume is a statement discussing the significance of the original document or documents therein contained, and setting forth the relationship between those documents and the historic events with which they deal.

Edward Eberstadt.

Arrangement of the Manuscripts

Volume I . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 1 to 6 inclusive:
Volume II . . . . . Manuscript Number 7:
Volume III . . . . . Manuscript Number 8:
Volume IV . . . . . Manuscript Number 9:
Volume V . . . . . Manuscript Number 10:
Volume VI . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 11 to 22 inclusive:
Volume VII . . . . . Manuscript Number 23:
Volume VIII . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 24 to 26 inclusive:
Volume IX . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 27 to 30 inclusive:
Volume X . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 31 to 34 inclusive:
Volume XI . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 35 to 40 inclusive:
Volume XII . . . . . Manuscript Number 41:
Volume XIII . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 42 to 49 inclusive:
Volume XIV . . . . . Manuscript Number 50:
Volume XV . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 51 to 54 inclusive:
Volume XVI . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 55 to 58 inclusive:
Volume XVII . . . . . Manuscript Number 59:
Volume XVIII . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 60 to 75 inclusive:
Volume XIX . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered 76 and 77:
Volume XX . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 78 to 81 inclusive:
Volume XXI . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered 82 and 83:
Volume XXII . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 84 to 93 inclusive:
Volume XXIII . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 94 to 98 inclusive:
Volume XXIV . . . . Manuscript Number 99:
Volume XXV . . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 100 to 103 inclusive:
Volume XXVI . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 104 to 114 inclusive:
Volume XXVII . . . . Manuscript Number 115:
Volume XXVIII . . . Manuscript Number 116:

Volume XXIX . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 117 to 121 inclusive:
Volume XXX . . . . . Manuscript Number 122:
Volume XXXI . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 123 to 130 inclusive:
Volume XXXII . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 131 to 140 inclusive:
Volume XXXIII . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 141 to 143 inclusive:
Volume XXXIV . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 144 to 147 inclusive:
Volume XXXV . . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 148 to 150 inclusive:
Volume XXXVI . . . Manuscripts Numbered 151 and 152:
Volume XXXVII . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 153 to 158 inclusive:
Volume XXXVIII . . . Manuscripts Numbered from 159 to 161 inclusive:
Volume XXXIX . . . 102 engraved plates and 7 maps:

A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Contained in the Fort Sutter Papers

VOLUME I

The Original Drafts of Edward M. Kern's Letters Regarding his Appointment as Fremont's Artist with the Historic Expedition of 1845 and Letters from Drayton and Eld in Kern's Behalf.

1. A letter from Drayton to Edward Kern, following a long talk with Fremont. Kern is urgently advised to prepare himself for his forthcoming scientific work with the Expedition. Washington, March 28, 1845.
2. Original draft of a letter from Kern to Drayton saying that he has been appointed artist of the Expedition; thanking Drayton for his aid, and asking his advice regarding equipment. Philadelphia, March 30, 1845.
3. Original draft of a letter from Kern to Henry Eld thanking him for help in securing the appointment with the Expedition. (Philadelphia) March 30, 1845.
4. Original draft of a letter from Kern to Eld telling of his surprise due to lack of news from Fremont. (Philadelphia, April .... 1845.)
5. A letter from Eld to Kern urging the artist to keep cool, as his place in the Expedition is assured, Fremont having given his word to that effect. Washington, May 3, 1845.
6. Original draft of a letter from Kern to an unnamed friend acknowledging financial assistance, and saying he is about to start westward. (Philadelphia, May .... 1845.)

VOLUME II

Kern's Letter from Westport to his Brother Richard in Description of the Assemblage, Organization, and Start of the Expedition into the Wilderness.

7. An intimate description, written by Edward Kern to Richard, telling of the scenes, preparations and conditions at the "Jumping-off place" of the Expedition, which is to move on the following day. Boon Creek, Missouri Territory, June (19), 1845.

VOLUME III

Castro's Edict of March 8, 1846, in which Fremont and his Party are Denounced as a Band of Robbers and the Mexicans are Incited to Attack and Expel him. Lieutenant Kern's Manuscript copy of the Document, the Existence and Genuineness of which have heretofore been doubted.

8. The text of the pronunciamento issued by Jose Castro, Mexican Commander in Chief of the Department of California, and promulgated while Fremont and his little band were encamped at Natividad. March 8, 1846.

VOLUME IV

"To the Inhabitants of California." Commodore Sloat's Proclamation on Raising the Flag and Taking Possession of California in the name of the United States of America. One of the Original Manuscript Copies Written Aboard his Flagship the *Savannah,* at Monterey, on July Fifth and Sixth, Sent Northward to Montgomery and Others on July Sixth, and Proclaimed on July Seventh.

9. The original copy of Commodore Sloat's Proclamation which was sent to Sutter's Fort, and which thus became a part of the Fort Sutter Papers. It declares that "henceforth California will be a portion of the United States," and is the foundation document on which was based the acquisition of the Territory by the United States.
Harbor of Monterey, July 7. (Written on July 5 or 6, 1846.)

VOLUME V

Kern in Command at Sutter's Fort. Commodore Stockton's Message written on the United States Frigate *Congress* Appointing him a First Lieutenant in the California Battalion.

10. The document issued by Stockton as "Commander in Chief," making Kern an officer and ordering him to report to Fremont for duty. This paper may be regarded as Stockton's official sanction of Fremont's previous appointment of Kern to the command at Fort Sutter. Bay of Monterey, July 25, 1846.

VOLUME VI

Kern's Order Commanding the Hastily Organized Emigrants to Immediately March to Yerba Buena, together with his Manuscript Records and Memoranda relating to the Mounting and Equipment of the California Battalion.

11. An order sending a company of troops from the Fort to reinforce Montgomery at Yerba Buena, with specific injunctions that the persons and property of the natives encountered must be respected. The tearing off of the signature indicates that this copy was retained by Kern for his personal records. Such a war-time precaution made it impossible for the document to be abstracted and improperly used.
Fort Sacramento, August 3, 1846.
12. Kern's original draft of his letter to John Potter, demanding the horses taken from Sonoma. The document reveals the conflict of authority between various officers which then existed. F(ort) S(acramento) August (3) 1846.
13. Letter of Th(omas) Cordua to Kern, commanding at Fort Sutter, acceding to his demand for horses. The country was being scoured to obtain mounts for the volunteers. New Mechlenberg, August 25, 1846.
14. Letter of Cordua to Kern enclosing his bill for the horses he had delivered.
New Mechlenberg, August 30, 1846.
15. Bill of Cordua to the United States Government for horses delivered to Fort Sacramento. New Mechlenberg, August 30, 1846.
16. Kern's record of purchases of horses from Francis Delong and Jose Salinas for the service of the United States. (Fort Sacramento) September 5 and 6, 1846.
17. Lieutenant Jacob Snyder's requisition on Kern for a horse needed by the courier carrying military despatches to San Francisco. New Helvetia, October 9, 1846.
18. Message from acting Quartermaster Henry King of the California Battalion to Kern at Fort Helvetia, enclosing bill. Camp, October 9, 1846.

19. Mat(t)hew Dofa(r)'s receipt for a horse borrowed from Fort Sacramento, presumably for a trip to Sonoma, where he promises to deliver it to the Commander. Witnessed by C. C. Sweet. Fort Sacramento, April 1, 1847.

20. Bill rendered by William Russell to the United States for the use of horses. Sacramento, April 8, 1847.

21. Letter of Michael Nye to Kern, complaining that the Commander of Fort Sutter had failed to credit him with certain property sold for United States military use. New Mechlenberg, April 8, 1847.

22. Letter of Kern to Col. C. F. Smith, U. S. Army, certifying to the correctness and justice of Michael Nye's claim of 1846 against the government. Philadelphia, March 19, 1853.

VOLUME VII

The Appeal of William Richardson to Lieutenant Kern in which Richardson Asserts his Political Neutrality during the Crisis then Prevailing between Mexico and the United States, and asks for the Release of Captain Orbell.

23. Richardson's letter to Kern concerning the confiscation of his launch and the arrest of its crew, and defining his attitude toward the contending parties. Sausalito, July 28, 1846.

VOLUME VIII

The Original Manuscripts of Bartlett's Letters Written on the *Portsmouth* to Kern at Fort Sacramento Concerning Conditions at Sonoma, San Juan, Santa Barbara, San Diego, Monterey, and Yerba Buena; Fremont's Military Movements; Stockton's Arrival; the work of Revere, Watmough, and Missroon; the Mormon Emigrants; the New Flag.

24. Letter of Washington H. Bartlett to Kern at Sutter's Fort, stating that the squadron is expected at Yerba Buena; that Fontleroy is commanding at San Juan, and that fifty men are to be mustered in at Sonoma. U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* July 29, 1846.

25. Letter of Bartlett to Kern regarding Fremont's movements; the sailing of the *Cyane* with men for the south; Sloat's departure; information of Stockton and the squadron; the sending of muslin in order that the new flag raised over Fort Sutter might have the full number of twenty-eight stars. U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* July 30, 1846.

26. Letter of Bartlett to Kern at New Helvetia (Sutter's Fort) in denunciation of (James) Stokes; Watmough's appointment to command at Santa Clara; Indian troubles; Revere at Sonoma; arrival of the Mormons and the deception practiced by them; his suspicions of Sam Brannan, the Mormon leader; his regrets over the unpleasant conditions at the Fort. Yerba Buena, August 6, 1846.

VOLUME IX

The Original Manuscript Letters and Orders sent by Lieutenant Missroon of the *Portsmouth* to Kern at Sutter's Fort, announcing the Declaration of War against Mexico and discussing the Formation of a Garrison at Fort Sacramento; the Opening of a Mail Route to Sonoma; the Appointment of Captain Sutter as a Lieutenant under Kern; the Weakness and Vulnerability of the Fort.

27. Letter of instructions and orders from Lieutenant J. S. Missroon, U. S. Navy, to Kern, written on the occasion of Missroon's departure from the Fort and Kern's assumption of command. Fort New Helvetia, August 8, 1846.

28. Letter from Missroon to Kern notifying him of Montgomery's approval of the orders written by Missroon under date of August 8. It approves Kern's appointment of Captain Sutter as a Lieutenant; urges caution against attack; requests that information valuable to the enemy should not be put in despatches exposed to capture; and directs that the express to Howison in Oregon be started at once.

Yerba Buena, August 16, 1846.

29. Letter from Missroon to Kern accompanying military supplies requisitioned by Kern; requesting him to impress upon the Indians the allegiance they now owe to the United States; and desiring to exchange his discarded pantaloons for Indian bows and arrows suitable for presentation to a museum. (Yerba Buena, n. d., 1846.)

30. Letter from Missroon to Kern fixing Sutter's status and rations as a member of the Fort garrison; giving news of the frigate *Congress;* reciting movements of the enemy; and conveying the information that the United States had declared war on Mexico.

(Yerba Buena, August 19, 1846.)

VOLUME X

The Captives of Sonoma: Embracing Documents Relating to the Prisoners Captured during the Bear Flag Party's First Foray and Comprising the Original Manuscript of the Appeal for Freedom Written by Salvador Vallejo, Prudon, and Leese; with Hardy's Bill for their Transportation from Sonoma to Fort Sutter; Commodore Montgomery's Order for the Release of Carrillo and Guadalupe Vallejo; and Kern's Courtesy for their Homeward Journey.

31. Thomas Hardy's bill as rendered to the United States for Bear Flag revolutionary expenses, including the transportation of the Sonoma prisoners with their guards under Captain Ezekiel Merritt, from Sonoma to Fort Sutter, where the prisoners were held in confinement by Kern acting under Fremont's order.

(Itemized account) June 6 to July 8, 1846.

32. Commander Montgomery's instructions to Kern, transmitting the order of Commodore Stockton for the release of General Vallejo and Julio Carrillo.

Yerba Buena, July 29, 1846.

33. The original manuscript appeal of the Sonoma Captives for release from Fort Sutter, where they were being held in confinement by Kern. Written in Spanish and signed by Salvador Vallejo, Prudon and Leese.

Fortaliza de Nueva Helvecia, Agosto 5 de 1846.

34. Kern's order written in French to Francois Gendreau, requiring him to deliver sixteen horses to Vallejo and Leese for their use on the homeward journey from captivity. Endorsed with Leese's receipt for six animals.

Fort Sacramento, August 8, 1846.

VOLUME XI

The Oregon Express: Agreements and Preparations made by Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort at the order of Commander Montgomery, whereby News of the California Crisis might be Sent to Captain Howison of the *Shark* in Oregon Waters.

35. Agreement between Kern as Commander at Fort Sacramento on the one hand, and Louis Rondeau and others, under the terms of which Rondeau and six companions were to carry official despatches to Howison in Oregon with all possible haste.

September, 1846.

36. Original draft of a letter from Kern to Commander Montgomery discussing possible methods of getting news up to Howison in Oregon, and the cost and danger of the proposed enterprise. (Fort Sutter, August .... 1846.)

37. Original draft of Lieutenant Kern's itemized and certified bill rendered to the Naval Authorities showing the preliminary expenses incurred in outfitting and preparing the expedition to Oregon. (September .... 1846.)

38. A revised and altered copy of the foregoing account and bill, apparently in its final form, and endorsed "Original": signed by Kern as Commander of the Fort. (Fort Sacramento, September 22, 1846.)

39. The bills rendered by Napoleon McGilvery and Antoine Moria to Kern for lost time due to the delay in starting for Oregon. On separate sheets. September 4, 1846.

40. Draft of bills rendered to Kern by Perry McCoon, Rondeau, Nye, and Cordua for services in connection with preparing the expedition to Oregon. August 15, 31: September 7, 1846.

VOLUME XII

Lieutenant Kern's Contract for Carrying the Official Mails from Fort Sutter to Sonoma, as Contained in the Signed Manuscript drawn up by Adolph Bruheim, the Despatch Bearer, and Lieutenant Kern in Behalf of the United States.

41. The original articles of agreement between Kern as Commander at Fort Sacramento on the part of the United States, and Adolph Bruheim, by which the first United States postal service was established in California, and in which Bruheim undertook to make himself the postman for the exchange of letters between the Fort and Sonoma once each week. Signed by both men, with their pen-made seals. September .... 1846.

VOLUME XIII

"Call All Americans to Arms." The Original Manuscript of Lieutenant Revere's Warning Message and other Letters, Orders, and Instructions Sent by Him while Commander of the California Volunteers to Lieutenant Kern at Fort Sacramento.

42. The Letter written by Lieutenant J. W. Revere of the United States Navy, Commanding at Sonoma, to Kern, Commanding Officer at Fort Sacramento, in which he notifies Kern of the uprising in the South and Gillespie's plight at Los Angeles; states that the lives of all United States Citizens in California are threatened, that the danger is imminent, and orders Kern to "Call All Americans to Arms." Sonoma, October 17, 1846.

43. Letter from Lieutenant Revere to Acting Captain Kern ordering him to call into service and organize a force of Indians as a garrison for Sutter's Fort. Signed by Revere as Commander of the California Volunteers. Fort Sacramento, September 16, 1846.

44. A letter of intimate tone from Revere to Kern regarding their mutual exchange of necessities; Revere's purchase of a ranch; the illness of himself and others who went north during the threatened Walla Walla Indian outbreak, and his duties and financial affairs. Sonoma, October 17, 1846.

45. An intimate letter from Revere to Kern asking if he can employ Sutter's recent majordomo; referring to his possession of an American newspaper of July or August with its announcement of theatres and concerts, and humorously bewailing the present situation of Kern and himself. (Sonoma .... 1846.)

46. A letter from Revere to Kern containing his account with the mail carrier, Bruheim; instructions regarding Captain Sutter's accounts; and news of the arrival of more emigrants and their enlistment in the California Volunteers. Sonoma, October 24, 1846.

47. A letter from Revere to Kern concerning his preparations for the impending Campaign; the expedition of Grigsby; his need of more armed men if Kern can send such; and the severe work demanded of the horses. Sonoma, October 29, 1846.

48. A letter from Revere on the *Portsmouth* to Kern, notifying him that the ship is about to sail, presumably for San Diego, to be gone several months.
Portsmouth, December 2, 1846.

49. A letter from Lieutenant John Sears, Sergeant at Sonoma, to Kern, reporting that Lieutenant Revere is out on a scouting expedition and advising Kern to keep a sharp lookout for a body of natives moving up the Sacramento. Sonoma, August 20, 1846.

VOLUME XIV

Report of William Fallon, Signer of the Bear Flag Proclamation and Guide of General Kearny's Army, giving the Names of the American Settlers living on Bear Creek who enlisted for Service in Fremont's California Battalion for the March on Los Angeles. Written by Fallon while on Bear Creek, whither he had been sent to arouse the Settlers and addressed by him to Kern at Sutter's Fort.

50. Letter of William Fallon, addressed to Captain Kern, in which Fallon gives a list of the American Emigrants enlisted by him along Bear Creek, in obedience to Kern's instruction, and started by him to the Fort. Also telling of his efforts to obtain more men. Bear Creek, October 20, 1846.

VOLUME XV

Original Manuscript of Edwin Bryant's Proposal to Raise a Force of Volunteers in the Effort to Recapture Los Angeles and Reinforce Fremont. Written at Fort Sacramento on the Night of October 28, 1846, after a Discussion of the Situation by American Settlers and Emigrants there Assembled, Signed by Bryant, Benjamin Lippincott, A. I. Grayson, Richard Jacob, and James F. Reed, and Presented to Kern for His Approval.

51. The joint memorial submitted to Kern, as Commander of Fort Sacramento, by Edwin Bryant, Benjamin Lippincott, A. I. Grayson, Richard Jacob and James F. Reed, which provided that those men should act as couriers in arousing the American Emigrants throughout the surrounding country, secure their enlistment, and form companies of the volunteers for the march on Los Angeles.
Fort Sacramento, October 28, 1846.

52. A statement by Jacob and Reed, signed by them as "Agents" of Commander Kern, stating that by his order they have taken some of Cordua's horses into the Service of the United States as part of the work under the Plan of October 28.
November 5, 1846.

53. Statement of Jacob and Reed, signed by them as "Agents" of Commander Kern, saying they have taken certain horses belonging to Charles Ruder into the Service of the United States as part of the Plan of October 28. Also a receipt by Reed for horses designed to carry Volunteers to San Jose. Two pieces. November 5, 1846.

54. A bill rendered to the United States by John Smith for horses taken into the National Service on the same day which witnessed the preceding transactions of Jacob and Reed, and presumptively a part of those transactions. November 5, 1846.

VOLUME XVI

Letters from the *Portsmouth* written to Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort by Doctor Henderson, McKington, and Watmough Regarding Supplies for the Garrison, the Latest News Received from Mexico, and Enclosing enough Cotton Cloth to make 28 Stars for the Fort's New Flag.

55. A letter from Doctor A. A. Henderson of the *Portsmouth* to Kern, containing medical advice, news of Fremont's whereabouts, the situation in Mexico, and enclosing cloth for the 28 stars in the United States Flag to be raised over the Fort.
U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* July 26, 1846.

56. A letter from James H. Watmough, Purser of the U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* to Kern, regarding supplies for the Fort and Garrison under Kern's command and Kern's requisitions for the same; which said articles were being supplied by the Navy.
U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* August 22, 1846.

57. A letter from Watmough, Purser of the *Portsmouth,* regarding clothing (in this instance duck "trousers") sent to Kern at the Fort from the ship's stores.
U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* October 16, 1846.

58. A letter from John B. McKington of the *Portsmouth* to Kern, regarding clothing called for by Kern, and explaining the delay in sending the articles.
Sloop *Portsmouth,* December 1, 1846.

VOLUME XVII

Lieutenant Maury's Letter giving News of the Capture of Monterey and the Approach of Reinforcements coming to Join the Americans in California: Written by Him while Commanding at Sonoma to Kern at Fort Sacramento.

59. A letter from Maury to Kern giving details of General Taylor's Victory; the coming of more naval forces; the expected arrival of part of Kearny's Army; Fremont's movements; and the local events of Sonoma and Yerba Buena.
Sonoma, December 9, 1846.

VOLUME XVIII

Original Manuscripts of Commander Montgomery's Letters and Orders to Lieutenant Kern at Fort Sacramento during His Administration of Northern California: Constituting a Record of His Plans and Activities During the Conquest Achieved by the Bear Flag Party and the Organized Military and Naval Forces of the United States.

60. A letter addressed to "Mr. Kerns, Commanding the Fort at New Helvetia," cancelling previously made arrangements by virtue of which Montgomery's reports to the Secretary of the Navy were to be entrusted to Fremont for delivery.
U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, July 18, 1846.

61. A letter addressed to "Mr. Edw. M. Kern, Commanding Sutter's Fort," acknowledging Kern's return of the package addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, and stating that he himself had no authority to dispose of the men then on their way from Oregon to the Fort under Kern's command.
U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, July 27, 1846.

62. A letter addressed to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding at Fort Sacramento, acknowledging Kern's news of August 3 regarding the liberation of the Captives and regretting the delay in their release; announcing the despatch of the ship's surgeon to combat the disease prevalent at the Fort; recounting his instructions to Revere at

Sonoma concerning the unsettled conditions and suspicious movements of the enemy; and reporting the arrival of the Oregon party in an exhausted condition.

U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, San Francisco, August 10, 1846.

63. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding at Fort Sacramento, acknowledging Kern's report of August 18 in which Kern announced the completion of the garrison at Sutter's Fort and his preparations against sudden attack; arranging for naval supplies, powder and ammunition to be sent to the Fort; fixing Sutter's pay and rations as a Lieutenant; establishing Kern's superiority in rank over Sutter; setting forth the duties of the men and the discipline to be maintained by Kern's garrison at the Fort; cautioning economy in the use of supplies; announcing that Stockton had taken Los Angeles, but that there was no news regarding Castro's capture.

U.S.S. *Portsmouth* Yerba Buena, August 26, 1846.

64. A letter addressed to Edw. M. Kern, Esq., Commanding Fort Sacramento, acknowledging Kern's letter of August 25; giving Kern information about the regulations he had promulgated to govern the movement of Spaniards; taking up the matter of the future treatment of the Indians and Sutter's relation to the subject as Magistrate; giving news of Stockton's expected arrival on the scene; and announcing that the Flag was flying from every prominent place and port in the Territory.

Yerba Buena, September 1, 1846.

65. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Fort Sacramento, acknowledging Kern's urgent appeal for help; replying that orders had gone to San Jose and Sonoma for forces to move to his assistance and that similar word had been sent to Fremont's command at Monterey; urging Kern to hold out, if attacked, as long as his provisions lasted; requesting an immediate report to Missroon at Sonoma of the exact state of affairs; and urging both prudence and watchfulness. Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846.

66. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding at Fort Sacramento, acknowledging the letters, pay rolls, requisitions and accounts sent on September 8 and 10; directing Kern in methods of military administration; putting the soldier Indians of the fort garrison on an equality with its other members in the matter of rations; and commending Kern for his promptness in reporting the approach of hostile Indians.

U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, September 17, 1846.

67. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding Fort Sacramento, acknowledging the news, through Revere, that more Indians had been added to the garrison; stating that the navy cannot supply clothing for them and that they may be discharged unless needed by Fremont; discussing the necessity of closing the accounts of the shore stations under Montgomery's command; giving news of Stockton's arrival at Yerba Buena; telling of the expected visit of the Walla Walla Chief; and asking Kern to impress the Walla Walla Indians with a sense of the United States' friendship toward them. U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, September 29, 1846.

68. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Commanding Fort Sacramento, New Helvetia, urging haste in the forwarding of the Fort Sutter garrison accounts in order that they may arrive before Stockton sails away.

U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, October 7, 1846.

69. A Letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding Fort Sacramento, regarding the impending transfer of his (Montgomery's) Command and the consequent necessity of Kern's prompt and proper preparement of the garrison accounts; announcing the recall of Revere from Sonoma but stating the desirability of a continuance of reports to Yerba Buena by means of the established mail courier service through Sonoma; requesting Kern to maintain a scouting system in order that information concerning suspicious movements of the enemy may reach the *Portsmouth* at the earliest possible moment; ordering Kern to enforce Stockton's order forbidding the carrying of arms

by the Californians; and containing news that Stockton, Fremont and the Volunteers are sailing for the relief of the American forces under attack or siege in the South.

U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, October 13, 1846.

70. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Commanding Fort Sacramento, informing Kern of the Mexican rising in the South; of the siege of Los Angeles; the threat against Monterey; of the appeals made to him for help, saying that the same dangers threaten in the North and that he dare not answer the call from the South since that would leave the Northern Department at the mercy of the Mexicans; telling Kern that the enemy have proclaimed their intention of massacring every American in California; urging him to make his position secure and keep on guard against surprise assaults or night attacks; directing him to provision the Fort for two months, and to urge the newly arrived emigrants to come to Yerba Buena by water unless they can move overland in large parties as a precaution against attack; desiring that the movement of all emigrants from the States be hastened and that all Americans be called into service; and declaring that the *Portsmouth* can defend Yerba Buena against any force brought against the town. U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, October 15, 1846.

71. A letter to Edw. M. Kern, Esq., Commanding Fort Sacramento, New Helvetia, acknowledging receipt of Kern's letter of October 11; repeating to Kern the intelligence and warnings contained in his communication of October 15; saying it is probable that all the mountain passes are watched and communications intercepted by the hostile natives; expressing no fear of the Mexicans on the Sonoma side of the Sacramento; reiterating his caution to Kern to keep constant vigilance; directing him to maintain daily drill and discipline; revoking a former decision and saying the Indians of the Fort Sutter garrison may be retained provided no more white men can be obtained; and asking Kern to continue his communications through Sonoma, where Revere is temporarily detained.

U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* San Francisco, October 21, 1846.

72. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding Fort Sacramento, New Helvetia, asking that the pay-rolls of Kern's command be arranged to close on November 8, when the enlistments of the existing Fort Sutter garrison were to expire; providing that the Indians be retained as members of the new garrison; expressing the desirability of also having white men in the garrison; saying that Kern can arrange with Purser's Clerk Turkington concerning the payment of his force and his bills on the arrival of the *Warren* with the Squadron's funds; and asking for a muster roll of the new garrison, for transfer to Montgomery's successor in Command.

U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* San Francisco, October 23, 1846.

73. A manuscript Circular addressed to Edw. M. Kerns, Commanding at Fort Sacramento, issued by Commander Montgomery at the request of the French Consul at Monterey. It recites that owing to desertions from the French whaler *Ferdinand* the voyage of the ship is jeopardized, and Kern is directed to use all means to apprehend the deserters, keep them safely confined, and report their capture, if taken. The circular also enjoins all Civil and Military authorities to prevent any similar desertions if possible; to capture deserters; and punish all who aid in schemes of desertion. U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* San Francisco, October 29, 1846.

74. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding Fort Sacramento, acknowledging Kern's report of October 27; praising him for his success in obtaining men for the Southern Expedition; giving the number of enlistments from the fort and Sonoma; saying that with additional men furnished by Kern, Fremont will have a force of six hundred, which will be enough to defeat the enemy in the south; stating that Fremont was the one who authorized the increased pay of the volunteers; explaining his difficulty in arming the men sent to him by Kern, some of whom are destitute and cold, as the ship has no more blankets; assuring Kern that the *Warren,* with funds to pay the Fort Sutter bills, is expected very soon.

U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* San Francisco, November 8, 1846.

75. A letter to Edw. M. Kerns, Esq., Commanding at Fort Sacramento, regarding his fears for the missing launch of the *Warren,* with sixteen or seventeen men; praying that his fears are unfounded and that the men may have been saved; stating that he is on the eve of sailing, and that Captain Hull is to succeed him in Command of the Northern Department. U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena, December 3, 1846.

VOLUME XIX

Original Drafts of the Reports sent by Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort to Commander John B. Montgomery at San Francisco, notifying Him of the Release of Vallejo and Carrillo in Obedience to Instructions; Reciting Fremont's Orders Regarding the Prisoners; Requesting Protection for Himself in the Matter of giving Freedom to Them; and Informing His Superior of Conditions and Events in the Fort and Region under His Charge.

76. The original draft of the report submitted by Kern to Commander Montgomery at Yerba Buena regarding the detention of Richardson's launch; Fremont's reasons therefor; the release of Vallejo and Carrillo; reciting Fremont's orders regarding those prisoners; his ideas about the proposed express to Howison in Oregon; and Indian troubles in the Sonoma neighborhood. Fort Sacramento, August . . . 1846.

77. The original draft of the report submitted by Kern to Commander Montgomery at Yerba Buena, giving his arrangements for the mail route to Yerba Buena via Sonoma; discussing the movements of Spaniards in the Sacramento Valley; relating his great difficulty in obtaining horses; and referring to the clash of orders between Captain Swift and himself. Fort Sacramento, August 25, 1846.

VOLUME XX

Messages from Fremont sent to Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort Concerning Supplies for the Volunteers; and the California Battalion's Hurried Departure for the South.

78. A letter from Fremont to Lieutenant Kern, Commanding at Fort Sacramento, instructing him to send information to Commodore Stockton immediately that more men are needed; stating that the majority of the Sonoma Volunteers will have embarked on the frigate *Congress,* and that the expedition organized for the relief of Gillespie and the recapture of Los Angeles is to leave on the following day.
Camp Cosumne(s) River, October 4, (1846).

79. A manuscript document recording supplies, tobacco, sugar, tea and coffee, issued by Kern at Fort Sutter to Fremont, Kit Carson and twenty-seven trappers.
(Fort Sacramento . . . 1846.)

80. The manuscript receipt given by Fremont, as "Military Commandant of U. S. Forces in California" to Lieut. E. M. Kern, Commanding Military Post, Fort Sacramento, for horses and supplies destined for the use of the California Battalion.
(Fort Sacramento) Oct. 7, 1846.

81. The written orders sent by Lieutenant Colonel Fremont through Jacob R. Snyder, his Quartermaster, to Kern, directing that the cavalry equipment of the Tulare Indians who had been in the Service of the United States Government be received from them, or should be sent for if not returned by the Indians.
(Los) Angeles, February 11, 1847.

VOLUME XXI

Original Petition of the Settlers of Bear River Valley Addressed to Kern at Fort Sutter Reciting the Outrages Committed upon them by the Indians and Appealing for Aid and Military Protection; Together with Kern's Detailed Report of His Campaign Against the Hostiles.

82. The petition drawn up and signed by the American Settlers of Bear Creek Valley telling of the Indian uprising; of the imminent peril of the settlers, their urgent need of protection, and praying that a military force be sent before they are compelled to abandon their farms or "suffer something worse." Mill Creek, February 28, 1847.

83. An original draft of the report sent by Kern as Commander of the Sacramento District to Captain Joseph B. Hull as Commander of Northern California narrating his campaign against the Indians of Bear Creek Valley; explaining that the Indians were preparing to attack the settlements; that he and his force marched into the mountains, surprised and attacked the hostiles at several of their camps and villages, took prisoners, and fought two engagements in which a number of the Indians were killed; also recommending the establishing of a permanent garrison for the protection of the settlers there, and of emigrants moving into California or on their way to Oregon. Fort Sacramento, March 30, 1847.

VOLUME XXII

The Original Documents of Lieutenant Kern at Fort Sacramento, including Papers written by John A. Sutter; Showing the Accounts of the Men comprising the Garrison and the Supplies furnished by Leidesdorff, Sherman, and Davis.

84. "Accounts of the Men in Garrison at Fort Sacramento, for the month ending September 7, 1846." A Manuscript signed by Kern as Commanding Officer, detailing the various supplies issued (with the amount charged for each) to Sutter, Smith, McDowell, Marshall, Greyson, Northgrave, Tyler, Burch, Downing, Bray, and the Indians. Fort Sacramento, September 7, 1846.

85. A manuscript requisition entirely in the hand of John A. Sutter, Lieutenant and principal assistant of Kern, prepared and filled out in ruled columns under a heading which reads: "There is required for the men comprising the Garrison at Fort Sacramento the following articles of Clothing, &c"; giving the name of each white man in the garrison, with the articles requisitioned for each, by Kern, from the Naval stores of Montgomery's ship. Signed by Kern as "Commanding Fort Sacramento." (Fort Sacramento) October 14, 1846.

86. A manuscript requisition entirely in the hand of John A. Sutter, prepared in a manner similar to the foregoing document; giving the names of the garrison, including his own, and the articles required by each. (Fort Sacramento, October . . . 1846.)

87. A manuscript "List of Clothing sent to E. M. Kern for the following men"; prepared in ruled columns with the names of the garrison and the articles supplied to each. August 1846.

88. A letter from William A. Leidesdorff, per Charles Meyer, to Captain Kern, notifying him of the shipment of supplies to the Fort in Captain Sutter's launch. Yerba Buena, November 24, 1846.

89. A letter from Leidesdorff, per Meyer, to Captain Kern, acknowledging an order for supplies and regretting that coffee is unobtainable. (Yerba Buena, 1846.)

90. A manuscript requisition on Kern for supplies needed by the crew of the *Paul Jones* while they were searching for the missing launch of the *Warren*. Signed by Robert T. Ridley. Sacramento, December 12, 1846.

91. A letter from R. M. Sherman to Kern, telling of the limited choice of merchandise obtainable at Yerba Buena, his inability to secure things desired by Kern, and giving prices and descriptions of such articles as are procurable.

Yerba Buena, December 23, 1846.

92. A requisition on Kern for tobacco required by the crew of a launch; with a receipt for the same. Both signed by George Williams.

93. An original signed statement or deposition of Edward M. Kern, reciting his position and duties with Fremont's Expedition of 1845; his appointment as Lieutenant in the California Battalion by Stockton; his Command of Fort Sacramento and District; his purchases of beef in that capacity; and the prices paid by him.

n. p. (about 1847–48).

VOLUME XXIII

Manuscript Pay Rolls of the Garrison at Sutter's Fort as Enlisted by Lieutenants Missroon and Revere of the *Portsmouth:* Prepared, Signed and Certified by Lieutenant Kern as Commander of the Fort at the Order of Commander Montgomery.

94. Original Manuscript "Pay Roll of Garrison at Fort Sacramento Entered by Lieut. Missroon, U.S.N. Transferred to Col. J. C. Fremont's Command." Showing in ruled columns the names, rank, date of enlistment, expiration of service, rate of pay, amount received in clothing, and amount due each man, including both whites and Indians. List headed by the name of J. A. Sutter as Lieutenant. The reverse side of the document contains a similar report of the men "Entered by Lieut J. W. Revere, U.S.N." Together the lists record the names of sixty men of the garrison. Signed "Edw. M. Kern, Comg. F. Sacramento."

(Fort Sacramento, about November 8, 1846.)

95. A manuscript document entitled "Pay Roll of Garrison at Fort Sacramento." Giving a list of twenty-one names, headed by J. A. Sutter, Lieut. With information similar to that of the preceding pay-roll, and similarly displayed. These are enlistments of November 9, 1846, for service ending February 23, 1847.

(Fort Sacramento, February . . . 1847.)

96. A manuscript document entitled "Pay Roll of Garrison at Fort Sacramento from November 9, 1846 to February 26, 1847." Showing in ruled columns on both sides of the sheet, the names and other necessary records of fifty-one white men and Indians. Certified by E. M. Kern, Commg. Fort Sacramento.

Fort Sacramento, April 21, 1847.

97. A manuscript document entitled "Roll of the men Composing the Garrison at Fort Sacramento, New Helvetia, A(lta) C.(alifornia) from November 9, 1846 to March 9, 1847." Displaying in ruled columns on both sides of the sheet, the names of present and absent officers and privates to the number of fifty-one. Signed Edw. M. Kern, Commg. Fort Sacramento. Fort Sacramento, March 31, 1847.

98. A manuscript written by John A. Sutter, entitled "List of the 12 Men." Headed by the name of Celestino, the Indian Corporal of the Garrison, followed by five other names designated as "cavalry" and six as "infantry." (Fort Sacramento, 1847.)

VOLUME XXIV

Kern's Letter to Gillespie (written in 1853) Regarding the Refugee California Emigrants at Sutter's Fort in 1846 and the Loss of the Fort Sutter Papers in the Disaster to Fremont's Expedition of 1848–1849.

99. Original draft of Kern's letter to Major Archibald Gillespie in answer to Gillespie's queries regarding events of the Conquest; detailing the aid given by Kern at Sutter's

Fort to the emigrants of 1846; quoting letters written to him on that subject by Fremont and Montgomery; telling of Kearny's rough-shod method of taking over the command; and of the loss of the Fort Sutter papers in the mountains during the Fremont Expedition of 1848–1849. n. p., March 11, 1853.

VOLUME XXV

The Letters of Charles E. Pickett to Lieutenant Kern in Denunciation of the Official Acts of Hull and Mervine and of Existing Conditions in California.

100. A letter from Pickett to E. M. Kern, Commander, Fort Sacramento, advising him that the *Portsmouth* and *Congress* are on the eve of sailing, and that the Mormons are at large again and will shortly be disbanded. San Francisco, October 2, 1846.

101. A letter from Pickett to Captain E. Kern, Sacramento, descriptive of the turmoil, unpleasant conditions and spirit of dissatisfaction then prevailing in San Francisco; declaring that the naval officers in command of affairs are unfit for their duties; calling Captain Hull and Mervine "brainless bipeds"; denouncing the acts of those in authority as "infernal, rascally, illegal and high-handed proceedings"; asserting that the flag has been stained with dishonor, and the temple of justice degraded to the lowest depths of infamy and disgrace; and detailing his quarrel with Hull in the newspaper articles written to the *Star* by him under the name of "Yerba Buena." Yerba Buena, January 14, 1847.

102. A letter from Pickett to Kern declaring that those in authority have, by their iniquitous acts, planted a mine under their own feet which may blow them all to hell; describing Stockton as crazy; telling of dissatisfaction in Fremont's army; describing the present officials of California as a "lousy, ignorant crowd"; and exclaiming, "God help poor California." San Francisco, February 14, 1847.

103. A letter from Pickett to Kern at Monterey concerning Kern's plans and the possible routes for his return to the East; telling of his appointment as Indian Agent for Oregon; speaking of the abuse published about him in the *Oregon Spectator;* and asking Kern to notify the President of his resolve to refuse the appointment. San Francisco, 12th Nov., 72 A. R.

VOLUME XXVI

The Donner Party Tragedy: Papers Relating to the Expeditions into the Mountains and the Rescue of the Starving Emigrants together with the Lists, Pay Rolls, and Rewards of the Rescuers as Kept by Kern at Fort Sutter.

104. A message from Sinclair to Kern concerning materials which he can furnish for use in making garments for the rescued women. Rancho del Paso, February 19, 1847.

105. The original draft of the message sent by Kern to Captain Joseph B. Hull, Commander of the Northern District of California, regarding the rescue of the Donner Party and affairs of the Sacramento District. He gives praise to the members of the rescuing party sent from Sutter's Fort; details the work of the seven rescuers who reached the emigrant camp; and says they started back with twenty-one souls, three of whom died on the trip out of the mountains. He also reports his receipt of the petition sent to him by the settlers of Bear River Valley and states he has called into service a part of the Fort's garrison to punish the Indians and settle the matter. Bear Creek, March 7, 1847.

106. A report by R. F. Pinkney, Commanding U. S. Forces at Pueblo San Jose, certifying that he has discharged Jonathan (Jotham) Curtis from military service for the reason that Curtis, while subject to the orders of James F. Reed, had been insubordinate and abusive. (Pueblo de San Jose, January 29, 1847.)

107. A letter to Kern from George McKinstry, Jr., detailing the preparations which have been made by him for another dash into the mountains to succor the starving emigrants, with a list of the provisions, clothing, and other articles being sent by him from the Fort to Kern at Johnson's ranch for the use of such emigrants as may be saved. Fort Sacramento, March 8, 1847.

108. A list of the eleven men most active in the rescue of the Donner Party. To this copy of the record Kern has added a wide column devoted to "Remarks," in which he specifies the duties allotted to each of the rescuers. Perhaps designed as a revised record. (Fort Sacramento, April . . . 1847.)

109. A list of the eleven men most active in the rescue of the Donner Party, under the title: "Pay Roll of the Men employed in the Expedition (to the) California Mountains, under Command of Edw. M. Kern, U. S. V." A record arranged in ruled columns, showing the date when each man began his work; when he concluded it; the number of days during which he was engaged; his rate of daily pay; and the total amount due to each. New Helvetia, April 25, 1847.

110. A manuscript written by John Sinclair, organizer of the First Relief, containing the names of the men who first volunteered in the desperate attempt to rescue the Donner Party. It gives the number of days devoted by each to the work, and Curtis's name, originally written in the list, has been stricken out. The final line of this paper relates to one of the most dramatic events in the history of the West. The line reads: "One coverlid left with Mr. Denton, valued at $20.00." John Denton was one of the emigrants whom the first relief sought to save, but his strength gave out during the struggle through the mountains, and, lying down in the snow, he ordered the others to go on. The "one coverlid, valued at $20.00" was laid over him, and he was left to die. When his frozen body was discovered by a later relief party, still wrapped in the coverlid, there was also found in his hand a piece of paper on which he had written, before the lethargy of approaching death stole away his senses, one of the beautiful poems of the language. It was the one beginning:

"Oh! After many roving years
How sweet it is to come
Back to the dwelling place of youth,
Our first and dearest home."

In such manner did a poet die. Probably the coverlid valued at $20.00 was used as his shroud, but there is nothing to indicate whether it was ever paid for.

March 22, 1847.

111. A list of the eleven men and other details. Containing also the calculations used in determining the amounts due to the men, and evidently a preliminary plan for the report. (Fort Sacramento, April . . . 1847.)

112. A manuscript containing Kern's notes and memoranda, apparently designed as the basis for a more elaborate report of each man's part in the rescue, having entries under each of the names revealing the food or other supplies contributed by or to him, the length and nature of his work, the equipment belonging to him which was lost or ruined in the undertaking, and the especial pay awarded to certain of the men for unusual feats of rescue work. Curtis's account is here given at length and uncancelled. (Fort Sacramento, April . . . 1847.)

113. A message from John Sinclair to Lieutenant Woodworth, consisting of a receipt for flour received for the emigrants and sent to them in the mountains.

(Rancho del Paso, April . . . 1847.)

114. A bill rendered by John Sinclair to Kern for supplies furnished up to April in connection with the needs of the emigrants. (Rancho del Paso, April . . . 1847.)

VOLUME XXVII

The Letter Written by McKinstry, Temporarily in Command at Sutter's Fort and sent to Lieutenant Kern in the Mountains during the Rescue of the Donner Party, in which McKinstry Strangely Comments on the "Man-Eating" Women.

115. A message from George McKinstry, Jr., reporting events at the Fort to Kern while the Commander of the Post was in the mountains directing the men engaged in the rescue of the Donner Party. Likewise giving news of the petition received from the settlers in Bear River Valley; conveying the report that Fremont and his party are expected soon; informing Kern that his letter to the Explorer has been forwarded; and containing a curious reference to the rescued women of the Donner Party.
Fort Sacramento, March 4, 1847.

VOLUME XXVIII

Doctor Semple's Certification that the Bear Flag Party of July 1, 1846, sent under His Command to Spike the Mexican Guns at Yerba Buena on that Day, was Directed by the Order of Fremont, and that Henry Smith was a Volunteer on that Occasion.

116. A manuscript document entirely in the hand of Doctor Robert Semple, in which he certifies to the services rendered by Henry Smith during the Bear Flag Revolution, and, in so doing, also testifies of his personal knowledge to Fremont's responsibility for the foray of July 1, 1846, which was under Semple's command and whose successfully accomplished purpose was the spiking of the Mexican cannon at Yerba Buena. This manuscript and autograph are in the handwriting of the man who sat at the table in General Vallejo's hacienda at Sonoma on June 14 and prepared the document known to history as the Articles of Capitulation of Sonoma, the drafting and signing of which was the first formal step in the Conquest of California. Semple was the Secretary of the Bear Flag Revolutionists. Yerba Buena, January 7, 1847.

VOLUME XXIX

The Letter Written by Richard H. Kern, the Painter, Addressed to His Brother Edward Kern as Artist of Fremont's Exploring Expedition and Final Letters to Kern by Gillespie, Gilchrist, Jones, and McKinstry at the time of His Departure from California.

117. A letter written by Richard H. Kern, the artist and brother of Edward Kern, to Edward in California; reporting the receipt of news that Edward had been made Commander of Sutter's Fort, and saying that Doctor Morton (the eminent scientist and author of "Crania Americana") was anxious that Edward should procure Indian skulls for him. Philadelphia, February 10, 1847.

118. A letter from Purser's Clerk Jones of the U.S.S. *Warren,* to Kern at Monterey, requesting Kern to close his accounts as Commander of Fort Sutter by sending to Captain Hull a certified record of all governmental expenses for Hull's signature.
Sloop *Warren,* May 23, 1847.

119. A letter from Archibald Gillespie, Major of the California Battalion, to Kern at Bear Valley, enclosing Stockton's draft covering the Lieutenant's accounts; conveying Stockton's regrets that the amount cannot be remitted in coin or gold dust, since there is only one ounce in the official naval purse at the moment; and advising Kern to forward the draft to the *Congress* for payment. Camp, July 26, 1847.

120. A letter from Surgeon Edward Gilchrist of the U.S.S. *Congress* to Kern at Monterey, asking him to take charge of letters destined for the States; regretting that he cannot say good-by in person; and wishing Kern a recovery of health and a pleasant voyage home. U.S.S. *Congress,* August . . . 1847.

121. A letter from George McKinstry, Jr., to Kern, written in great haste and in abrupt manner, giving news which his departing friend might be most interested in knowing. San Francisco, August 5, 1847.

VOLUME XXX

The Life: Times: Men: and Events of 1846–1849 in California, Contrasted with the Conditions of 1851, in a Letter Written by George McKinstry to Lieutenant Edward M. Kern.

122. A long and elaborate letter from McKinstry to Edward Kern, written four years after the Lieutenant had left the scenes of their mutual adventures, and inspired by a meeting with Edward's brother Richard, in San Diego, where the latter had just arrived, coming across the desert with the Sitgreaves Expedition. McKinstry takes up in detail the men whom Kern knew, and tells of their later history, adventures, kaleidoscopic ups and downs, or tragic deaths; contrasting the conditions and places of 1846 with the strangely modern and teeming El Dorado of '51; describes the growth and development of San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Jose, Sacramento and other towns; discusses the discovery of gold and its effect on the community and on particular individuals; comments on the improvements in travel and transportation; and urges Kern to visit the California country before he dies. San Diego, December 23, 1851.

VOLUME XXXI

Documents Dealing with Fremont's Disaster of 1848–1849: The Justification of "Old Bill" Williams Against Fremont's Charges of Incapacity; The Murder of Williams and Doctor Kern while Seeking Edward Kern's Lost Papers and Property; and the Effort to Recover their Bodies.

123. Manuscript receipt in duplicate headed "Col. Fremont's Exploring Expedition of 1848. Dr., to Otto Helmold," for a case of amputating instruments. Philadelphia, September 1, 1848.

124. Letter of Micajah McGehee to his father, written on the day the expedition made its start from Taos, leaving behind those who, due to the disaster in the mountains, were unable or unwilling to continue the journey. Written for the purpose of introducing Dr. Benjamin Kern and his brothers, Edward and Richard, to the elder McGehee, and appealing to his father to give to them the hospitalities of his home and any help they might need, on the ground that they had been the writer's fellow sufferers amid the hardships of the broken expedition. Dr. Benjamin Kern never used this letter. He was killed soon afterward in the mountains, whither he had again gone, in company with "Old Bill" Williams, to search for the property and papers that they had been compelled to abandon during the effort to save their own lives. Micajah McGehee, who wrote this letter, kept a diary and notes of the expedition, and his brother, C. J. McGehee, published the narrative thus made in *The Century Magazine* for March, 1891.

125. Manuscript record made by Henry Casey, Assistant Quartermaster of the United States Army at Taos, giving a list of the Government supplies bought by Fremont

from the Quartermaster for the purpose of rationing the remnant of his expedition to California after the survivors of the disaster in the mountains had been brought in.
Taos, New Mexico, February 11, 1849.

126. A manuscript entirely in the hand of Lieutenant Edward M. Kern, contemporary with the events to which it relates, and by him endorsed: "Extracts from the journal of Lt. J. H. Simpson, Corps. Topogl. Engrs. U.S.A., in Relation to Fremont's Expedition, 1848–49." The extracts thus made are two in number, and both reveal the unfavorable opinion of Fremont held by those men most intimately familiar with the expedition, together with certain incidents and events on which their judgments were based. Those portions of Simpson's journal here quoted by Kern were omitted from Simpson's official report as printed by the Government in 1850, and contained in Senate Document No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st Session. The first of these extracts is under date of July 23, 1849. In it Simpson narrates the investigations made by him into the causes resulting in Fremont's disaster and recounts statements made to him by Hatcher and Biggs, to the effect that Fremont was warned in advance by "Old Bill" Williams and others that the route he proposed to take was an impossible one, but that he ignored the advice of the guides and the disaster followed. The second extract deals with Fremont's attitude after the arrival of the Expedition remnant at Taos. In it Simpson gives a statement made to him by Commissary agent Casey (author of the preceding manuscript) to the effect that Fremont tried to leave Taos without paying for the government supplies furnished to him by Casey, and that the bill had to be collected by a Sergeant. Simpson also says the Kerns were given but a small part of the supplies obtained at Taos, and that Fremont's attitude altered greatly upon receipt of the news that General Taylor had been elected to the Presidency. (Santa Fe) July 23 and October 27, 1849.

127. A letter to Richard H. Kern at Taos from Captain John Chapman, Commanding at Albique. Telling of the efforts made by him, after the killing of Benjamin Kern and "Old Bill" Williams, to recover the property in the search of which those two men lost their lives. Saying that some of the missing property has been recovered and is being sent with this letter. Albique, April 10, 1849.

128. A letter to Richard H. Kern at Taos from Lieutenant Hendrixson, Commanding at Albique. Saying the Mexicans under arrest as the supposed murderers of Dr. Benjamin Kern and Williams declare that the Indians are in possession of the material abandoned during the disaster to the Expedition, and that every effort to recover it shall be made. Albique, n.d. (1849).

129. A letter to Edward M. Kern, from Santa Fe, jointly written by Horace Dickinson and John Greiner. Dickinson gives news of events in the region since Kern's departure; tells of the search for gold on the Gila River, and of continued efforts to recover the material abandoned in the mountains by the Kerns. Major Greiner, in his part of the letter, says he intends to accompany the troops to the Sangre de Christo mountains in the Spring to search for the bodies of Benjamin Kern and Williams and bury them if found, and to make diligent search for everything lost in the mountains. He also transmits messages from Le Blonde the guide and George Estis the mountaineer in which they promise to do all they can in the same endeavor.
Santa Fe, January 27, 1851.

130. A letter of Leroux to Richard Kern in which he recites his familiarity, during twenty years, with the region in which Fremont met catastrophe; locates and describes the passes discovered by and named after Robidoux and himself; testifies to "Old Bill" Williams' perfect knowledge of the country under discussion; and derides Fremont for his attempt to use an impossible route which no sensible mountaineer would for a moment have considered. Don Fernandes de Taos, New Mexico, August 22, 1850.

VOLUME XXXII

Early Explorations and Studies among The Indians of the Southwest carried on by Edward and Richard Kern embracing The Assembling and Plans of the Sitgreaves Expedition: Edward Kern's Description of the Zuñi Indians and their Habitations in 1849: The Manuscript Notes of Richard Kern's Researches in the Zuñi Region: His Conclusions Regarding Ancient Cibola: Lieutenant Simpson's Letter on the Sitgreaves Journey and Letters to John R. Bartlett Concerning the Work of the Two Brothers.

131. Letter to Edward Kern from Richard Kern, written while the last named was a member of Sitgreaves Expedition as its Astronomer; telling of the party's arrival at Laguna; of the poor conditions of Colonel Sumner's Command in the Navajo campaign; of Kendrick's appointment as head of the military escort to protect the Expedition; asking Edward to write to Indian agent Greiner, who is stationed in the Sangre del Christo region, in case any one should again reach the scene of Fremont's disaster and find any of the material abandoned by the Kerns.
Camp at Laguna, August 24, 1851.

132. A letter written to Richard Kern by Lieutenant Simpson saying he has just sent a long communication to Lieutenant Sitgreaves regarding the forthcoming organization of the Sitgreaves Expedition and the proper methods to be used by it in assembling and traversing the region to be explored; also repeating to Kern, for his information, the substance of those recommendations. Buffalo, November 13, 1850.

133. Letter from S. M. Baird to Richard Kern discussing Kern's scientific investigation of the Zuni region; speaking of Kern's engravings of the ruins; asking him to make further studies of the subject and communicate the information so gathered.
Albuquerque, March 30, 1851.

134. A manuscript embracing a description of the Indian Pueblo of Santo Domingo, as observed by Edward Kern while a member of the Simpson Expedition; giving an account of the peculiar native architecture, methods of building and house arrangement, and detailing the costumes worn by the Indians of both sexes.
(New Mexico . . . 1849.)

135. A long manuscript on seven separate sheets written by Richard Kern and discussing the possible identity of the Seven Cities of Cibola with the Zuni villages as they existed during his own investigations; giving the results of his studies and work in tracing the routes of the early Spaniards, and his conclusions.
Washington, May 10, 1853.

136. Another of Richard Kern's manuscript notes on the Zuni region, giving an account of his own work in tracing the routes of Coronado and others.
Washington, May 12, 1853.

137. A transcript, in Richard Kern's hand, of Father Pedro Font's description of the "Casa Grande," as written by Font during his journey to Monterey and San Francisco in 1775.

138. Original draft of a letter from Richard Kern to John R. Bartlett in which Richard thanks Bartlett for his tender of a place in the new expedition and explains that he cannot accept because of his duties in connection with the work then being performed by Lieutenant Park. Richard recommends Edward to Bartlett as superior to himself in topographical and scientific delineation and in portrait painting. This letter also speaks of the loss of the effects of his brother and himself during Fremont's Fourth Expedition and says their natural history collections were included in the abandoned material. Santa Fe, March 14, 1851.

139. The draft of a letter from Paymaster F. A. Cunningham, U. S. Army, to John R. Bartlett, head of the Mexican Boundary Exploring Expedition, recommending

Edward Kern for a place in the expeditionary corps; recounting Kern's scientific work in collecting and drawing the natural history material and in topographical sketching during Fremont's journey of 1845; his position with the disastrous expedition of 1848; and his work in the Navajo country with Simpson in 1849.

Santa Fe, February 16, 1851.

140. The draft of a letter to John R. Bartlett recommending Edward Kern for a place on Bartlett's staff of scientific assistants during the approaching journey of exploration, and referring to Kern's years of previous experience in such work.

Santa Fe, March 13, 1851.

VOLUME XXXIII

Horace Dickinson's Letters Portraying Pioneer Life in Sante Fe; Indian Troubles; Army Affairs and Jealousies; Deeds of Violence; Territorial Politics; and the Frontier Conditions of the Southwest, as written to Edward and Richard Kern.

141. A letter to Edward Kern from Horace Dickinson, telling of Richard Kern's departure with the Sitgreaves Expedition; giving news of men known to Kern; describing local conditions and events. Santa Fe, September 10, 1851.

142. A letter to Richard Kern from Horace Dickinson, enclosing a quantity of manuscript historical material dealing with the early Spanish expeditions into New Mexico; containing news of the assassination of William Curtis Skinner; relating news of personages and events happening since Kern's departure. Santa Fe, October 31, 1851.

143. A letter to Richard Kern from Horace Dickinson telling of the discovery of Richard's lost Sketch Book; of the impending court-martial of Lloyd Beale; commenting on the army quarrels and distressing economy of the Federal Government in administering the affairs of the Territory; describing the delight of the Indian Chief, Hoosta, at seeing in Simpson's published report the picture of himself drawn by R. H. Kern; giving his belief that Edward Kern is returning to the region.

Santa Fe, November 30, 1851.

VOLUME XXXIV

Kern's Homeward Journey (after six years of adventure) in which he Discovers a New Route from Santa Fe: Together with Notes of His Passage of the Sierras in 1846, in Company with Walker: and Advice given by Him concerning the Necessary Equipment for Overland Travel.

144. The original draft of a letter in the hand of Edward M. Kern, and probably intended for Lieutenant Simpson. It tells of his homeward journey after the last of his work in the far West; describes a new route between Santa Fe and Leavenworth which he discovered in company with Captain Pope; says the new route is preferable to the old Cimmaron trail; and that he traversed it in about forty-two days.

Philadelphia, October . . . 1851.

145. A letter from Kern to Lieutenant Simpson offering aid to Simpson in his work.

Philadelphia, November 13, 1851.

146. A manuscript giving an account of the principal routes through the mountains, with mention of the worst obstacles encountered on each, and containing especial references to the Sierras, to the Kern River region, the San Joaquin Valley, and to the practical use of wagons. This is Edward Kern's comment on the passage of the Sierras with Walker, on his arrival in California in 1846.

147. A manuscript setting forth the proper organization to be effected and the best methods to be pursued in forming a party, or explorationary expedition, with wagon equipment, for travel in the mountainous regions of the West. n. p. (c. 1850)

VOLUME XXXV

The Effort made by Lieutenant Kern in 1851 to Obtain a Grant of Public Land in Return for His Services in California, and the Hostility of Regular Army Officers toward Fremont's Work in the West.

148. A letter from R. Burgess to Edward Kern revealing that Kern had under consideration a purpose to apply for a grant of public land or money. The phraseology of the letter indicates that Kern took the position that Governmental recompense was "due" to him, as though he had not been paid. It asks that the necessary documents to substantiate Kern's claim be placed in the writer's hands.
Washington, October 8, 1851.

149. The draft of a letter from Kern to R. Burgess regarding his projected claim for remuneration and referring to his commission as a Lieutenant in the California Volunteers, which he still possesses. But he further says he is unable to furnish certain historical dates, "having lost them in the mountains with Fremont."
Philadelphia, October 11, 1851.

150. A letter from Burgess to Kern regarding papers to be prepared in connection with Kern's projected claim: stating that there had existed, and still persisted in the Capital, much difficulty in regard to everything relating to Fremont's doings in California, due to the attitude taken toward Fremont and his acts by officers of the regular army. Washington, November 4, 1851.

VOLUME XXXVI

Letters from Antoine Robidoux, the Trapper and Guide, Written in His Age and Affliction and Asking Lieutenant Kern's Aid in Behalf of His Bill before Congress for Unpaid Services in California.

151. A letter to Edward M. Kern from Antoine Robidoux, written in his behalf while he was temporarily blind, in which the former frontiersman and guide, ill and grown old, asks Kern to help him in laying before Congress a bill which would recompense him for past services in behalf of the Government. He wants Kern to certify a paper containing items "no more than just." St. Joseph, Missouri, June 22, 1857.

152. A letter to Kern in the hand of Robidoux and signed by him, saying he is still very ill and again speaking of the help he needs in preparing the documents designed for submittal to Congress in the furtherance of his claim. Robidoux here calls Kern his "dear friend." St. Joseph, November 7, 1857.

VOLUME XXXVII

Richard Kern's Manuscript Report of 1853 on the Overland Transcontinental Routes Explored by him and the Best Route for a Railroad to The Pacific Coast as Submitted to Senator Gwin of California.

153. The letter written by Major Backus to Richard Kern regarding new explorations west of Fort Defiance, a part of which information was used by Kern in his report to Senator Gwin.

154. Kern's calculations regarding distances and topographical elevations affecting the building of a transcontinental railroad along the route recommended by him.

155–156–157. Three large manuscript maps of the regions under discussion, all drawn by Richard Kern from the originals made by his brother Edward.

158. An elaborate manuscript, on twenty-nine quarto sheets, all being bound together in the form of a book by means of a ribbon. Entirely in the hand of Richard H. Kern,

signed by him, and containing on the final page an inscription by Kern which reads: "Letter in Reply to one from the Hon. W. M. Gwin, U. S. Senate, in Reference to Pacific Railroad. Jan. 10, 1853." In substance the manuscript is a discussion of the various routes of overland travel personally known and traversed by Kern, with especial reference to the relative practicability of those routes for a transcontinental railroad. He considers distances, the nature of the country involved, natural obstacles which a railroad would find it necessary to overcome, the presence or absence of timber, water, and forage, and enters particularly into a consideration of the various passes through the mountains. As a result of his own explorations, and as here set down, he is of opinion that the best route of the sort desired is one from the Missouri frontier to the Valley of the Rio Grande, and thence to the Valley of the San Joaquin in California, by way of Walker's Pass.

VOLUME XXXVIII

Jacob Snyder's Letter Relating his Experiences of 1845 with Wagons on the Route to the West and Urging Kern to Write a History of the Times and Events in which Kern Participated at Old Fort Sutter in 1846.

159. A long, intimate and important message from Jacob Snyder to Edward Kern. In it he comments on the political quiet in California, just before the Civil War, in contrast to the turmoil existing in the East; enters into a discussion of the earliest overland migrations to California; says that he and his comrades of 1845 brought wagons over an untravelled trail and through the Johnston Pass to Bear River and the Sacramento Valley in that year, and were probably the first train which came directly through; gives news that Fremont is preparing a book; belittles Fremont's work; and rejoices that Kern is at last coming to a realization of the part he himself played in the Conquest. Snyder also expresses his pleasure that Kern possesses so much material of historical value; voices a strange reference to claims which others make on Kern's records; proposes that Kern write several volumes on the period in which he figured; and urges that Kern buy a tract of land in California and live there henceforth. San Francisco, November 3, 1860.

160. A military pass granted to Edward Kern as a topographical engineer in the Northern army during the Civil War and giving his physical description.
St. Louis, January 4, 1862.

161. Another military pass of the same character, and giving his age as 41 years.
St. Louis, January 5, 1862.

VOLUME XXXIX

The Published Pictures, Portraits and Maps Collectively Depicting the Indians, Scenery and Topography of The Far West Drawn by Edward Kern and Richard Kern and which constitute the First Extensive Pictorial Representation of those Regions made by American Explorers and Artists for the Information of the American Government and People.

Assembled in this volume is a collection of one hundred and two engraved plates and seven large maps collectively showing the extent to which the work of Edward and Richard Kern served in revealing the pioneer west to public knowledge.

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Original Drafts

of

Edward M. Kern's Letters

Regarding his

Appointment as Fremont's Artist

with

The Historic Expedition of 1845

and

Letters from Drayton and Eld

in Kern's Behalf

1845

Introduction to Volume I

AT the time these letters were written Fremont had but recently returned from his Expedition of 1844, and had brought with him an enthusiasm for the distant region to which he had penetrated; a region vaguely known to the people of the United States as California. Its beauty, its salubrity, its fertility and the potential greatness presaged by its geographical situation had all gripped his mind, and he had determined to return thither and there make his home. To this end he began the preliminary work necessary for another expedition even while still engaged upon the report of the one just completed.

And — though the mass of the people in the eastern half of the continent gave small thought to California, or of its qualities and destiny — certain public men eminent in the Government of the United States were likewise bestowing deep consideration on the subject of the Pacific Coast, particularly with reference to the future relations between it and this Republic. Among these men were President Polk, Webster, Buchanan, and Senator Benton. And since Fremont was obviously best qualified to give information about California, his knowledge was sought by them.

The international situation with reference to the Pacific Coast was a delicate one. Texas was lost to Mexico, had set itself up as a Republic, and was just entering the United States; Mexico entertained a feeling of hostility toward the great American Republic; the boundary of the Oregon Territory was in dispute; the British Empire was intimately concerned with the future of the American West; and California itself was drifting away from Mexico's political control. A war between America and Mexico seemed to be impending, and in that eventuality it was at least possible that Mexico would place California under the protection of Britain and that a British fleet would occupy the harbors of San Francisco and Monterey. Should such an emergency arise, the only ostensible force of the United States must be its Pacific Squadron under command of Sloat, Montgomery and Stockton, and it was obvious that the particular prize of any contest would be California. Consequently Fremont's presence in the disputed territory, even with a small land force, might become exceedingly valuable.

This situation in its various possible contingencies was discussed between Fremont and the high officials of Government while his preparations for the Expedition of 1845 were going forward. And since it was not possible to know just what was about to happen, or to make specific provision for every development; and since vast distances and lack of communication facilities made prompt interchange of orders and information impossible, Fremont was probably told to use his best judgment in meeting the conditions he might find when he again reached California. As he himself later said in his Memoirs, he was given "discretion to act."

It was into this great and complicated situation, full of hidden purpose, secret intrigue and enormous consequence in world affairs that a young Philadelphia artist named Edward M. Kern was unsuspectingly precipitated. He was then twenty-four years old, already able in his art, and imbued with a desire for such an experience as a journey through the immense and unknown wilderness would give him. Therefore, hearing that Fremont the Explorer was soon to set forth again, he applied for a place as artist of the new Expedition. These letters deal with his efforts to obtain the coveted situation and with his hopes, anxieties and fears in connection with Fremont's decision. There were more than forty applicants for the place. Kern was chosen. Thus it came about that the young artist became one of the outstanding figures in a series of events destined to profoundly affect the history of his country and the world, and to impress his name on all future maps of the region into which he journeyed, and where, during epochal days, he commanded.

(Manuscript Number 1)

Washington, March 28,1845

To
Mr.Kern
Dr Sir:-

I have had (yesterday) a long talk with Capt. Fremont. I recommend to you above all other things you can attend to, preparatory to your journey, to go to Dr.Patterson or any one els and apply yourself fully (to the neglect of every thing els possible) to the study of botany, particularly to the anatomy of plants, for what ever you may know now, all you can further get will be wanted.

Get the proper books on this subject and in particular, a small work called the Taxadermists companion or something like this title. You want it to prepare and take care of specimens of Natural History.

Dont leave Phila. until I see you which will be in 2 or 3 days. I shall want you to get some things for the Capt. allso.

Yours in great haste
I.Drayton.

Recd per Mr Blanchards Boy 27 inst. Not answered.

(Manuscript Number 2)

Phila March 30,1845.

Mr Drayton
Dr Sir:-

In a letter just received from Mr Gliddon he imparts the pleasant intelligence that I may consider myself appointed as artist, and that my official commission will arrive in a few days.

I tender to you my grateful thanks and acknowledgements for the interest manifested in my behalf, and must tax your kindness a little further. Can you send me a list, or at least give me an idea of the articles which it will be requisite for me to have, such as clothing, what kind, so I can obtain them as speedily as possible.

Would it be better think you to carry paper loose or bound in sketch books - paints pencils brushes etc can be stowed anywhere - they would probably be too weighty. Does government allow a knapsack, and what arms?

I am afraid Capt.Fremont is too busy to attend to the above or I would have bothered him. If you have any suggestions to make, the subscriber will be much obliged as he stands wofully in need of the commodity.

Dr Sir
Very respectfully
Edw. M.Kern
62 Filbert.

(Manuscript Number 3)

(Philadelphia, March 30,1845)

Sir:-

By a letter received from Mr Gliddon this morning I learn that you were so good as to interest yourself in behalf of my application to Capt. Fremont for a situation in his command.

For this undeserved and unexpected kindness to a stranger I owe you my most hearty thanks. You have aided me most materially and I shall never cease to be grateful for the favor. Should it ever be in my power to serve you in any way, I shall esteem myself happy in being able to reciprocate in however humble a way the kindness you have shown me.

Consider yourself ever entitled to command the services of

Your obliged humble servant
E.M.K(ern)

To
(Henry Eld, Esq.
Washington,D.C.)

(Manuscript Number 4)

Dear Sir

It is now nearly a month since I have heard any thing from Washington concerning Lieut.Fremont's expedition, during all which time I have remained in suspense, not venturing to undertake any of the work offered me lest I should be called away at a short notice.

My circumstances, as you are probably aware, are not such as to bear this very long. My anxiety has also been increased by seeing in the Pennsylvanian of this morning an article stating that Lieut Fremont is now in St Louis organizing his corps. His promise to me was so distinct and positive that I can scarcely believe this possible. Still it is a matter of too much moment to me to allow of a longer uncertainty.

You would much oblige me if you would add to the favors already conferred on me by informing me of the real state and prospects of the expedition, and whether I am to look for an appointment in it. With much respect.

Your obedient servant
(E.M.Kern)

To
(Henry Eld, Esq.
Washington,D.C.)

(Manuscript Number 5)

Washington City
May 3rd,1845

Dear Sir:-

Keep perfectly cool with regard to your situation in Captain Fremont's Expedition, he is still in this place and will look after you in due time. He has been and still (is) occupied night and day getting out his report. I met Mrs Fremont yesterday in the street, she told me that he was then at the Globe office correcting proof sheets and that he would get away from Washington perhaps the latter part of next week.

I write this without seeing him myself, but have the utmost confidence that you are perfectly safe and considered as belonging to his Expedition and I had supposed that your pay began from the time you received your appointment, at all events if his word is given that you are to go, go you will, and if you have not received your appointment you will get it, and the salary will commence from the date of orders I suppose; that is the way in our Naval Service, the regulations in the army I am not very familiar with, but dont, as I have said before and again repeat, get nervous about your appointment, that will take care of itself, and you will require all the nerve you have for the Mountains and the difficulties you may have to contend with during your campaign.

I appreciate your feelings precisely and have been through all that years ago; it is quite netural you should have such. Newspaper statements are seldom much to be relied on, probably Captain F. has never lisped a word to anybody about his intentions. I have no doubt his party are organizing or perhaps already organized by his directions, by those under his command. I do not think it worth while to wait untill I can see Captain F.but write this now to set your heart at rest, he told me just after Mr Gliddon left here that he had positively taken you, and thanked Mr Drayton and myself for the aid we had lent him in procuring your services. If there is anything else that I can do for you I will attend to it cheerfully.

Your Obt.Svt
Henry Eld

To
Edward M.Kern, Esq.
Philadelphia,Pa.

(Manuscript Number 6)

Philad, (May - 1845)

Sir:-

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th containing a draft for $325.00 which with the cash previously obtained makes three hundred and forty dollars.

My preparations are nearly made and I will leave on Thursday morning. With many thanks for your kindness to me in all this matter, I remain, with much respect

Your sincere friend
(E.M.Kern.)

To
?

The Fort Sutter Papers

Kern's Description

of the

Assemblage, Organization and Start of the Expedition of 1845

from its

Jumping-off place at Westport

into

The Western Wilderness

As told in a letter to his Brother

Richard Kern

Westport

1845

Introduction to Volume II

KERN joined the Expedition of 1845 at the frontier settlement of Westport, Missouri, where Fremont was busily engaged in the final preparations for his start into the wilderness. The strange scenes there met, the new brand of men encountered, and the free life of the plains all contained an element of fascination for the young artist and at once he became an active part of all that he beheld, and for years thereafter lived the life of travel and adventure then first revealed to him.

This letter is his farewell to his brother. It was written the day before the actual start into the unknown expanse, and in it he describes the conditions at the "jump-off," and the organization of that camp of travellers, about a hundred in number, of which he was a member.

After leaving Westport the Expedition proceeded along the route long used by trappers to Bent's Fort, where it rested and refitted for the more arduous work ahead. Numerous men deserted in that neighborhood, so that when Fremont started on again, in August, his command was reduced to about 60 men. These—with the exception of Kern and one or two other assistants—consisted of mountaineers, trappers and Delaware Indians. On the surface of things the Expedition was one strictly scientific in its character, whose only purposes were to study the country and to find a new and more southerly route to Oregon, by way of California. For this reason the War Department had sent no other officers or military equipment with Fremont.

After leaving Bent's Fort the Expedition ascended the Arkansas River to its source, examined the country in a northwesterly direction to Utah Lake, and devoted some time, in October, to an exploration in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake. The region now embraced within the limits of Nevada was entered near Pilot Peak, and on November 5th, at a point near the headwaters of the Humboldt River, the party was divided. Fremont with a small group took a southerly course and reached Walker Lake on October 23d, where the main body rejoined him on October 27th. On the 29th the Expedition was again split into two sections, with an agreement to unite on the western side of the Sierra. Kern went with the larger division, which, guided by the celebrated frontiersman Walker, started on its southward march on December 8th. Kern's party reached Owen's River on December 16th, followed the stream down to the lake, proceeded around Owen's Peak, marched through the original Walker Pass of 1834, and thence down a river to which the artist's name was given, and which has since been known and mapped as Kern River. Here the party encamped on December 28th and waited three weeks for Fremont. In the meantime Fremont had crossed the mountains in the vicinity of

Truckee Lake, descended into the valley, and had reached Sutter's Fort on December 10th. After a stay of four days there he started southward to rejoin the party under Walker and Kern, which reunion was finally accomplished after both sections of the Expedition had vainly sought one another for some time. It was through a meeting between Kern's party and Fallon, the Irish trapper (Vol. XIV, Introduction), that the junction of the two groups was effected.

Thus Kern had at last reached California, still without appreciation of the future drama in which he was so soon to play a part. In February of 1846 Fremont left his camp, paid a visit to Commandante Jose Castro, the Mexican Military Chieftain of Upper California, told him that the Expedition's presence in the neighborhood was due entirely to scientific purposes, and asked permission to remain until spring, when he desired to start northward to Oregon. It has never been conclusively determined whether or not Castro gave the permission thus sought, but Fremont did remain. The series of events which gave California to the United States had begun.

(Manuscript Number 7)

(West Port, Mo.)
In Camp, at the head of Boon Creek, Mo.Ter.
June (19),1845.

Dick (R.H.Kern):-

I received yours of the 27th on Sunday- it had passed through Doc's hands before I got it so I had his additions. The Ohio is so low that it is not likely he will return that way,but by the Lakes. I gave him $50.00, all I had.

The Capt (Fremont) was so much engaged in St Louis that I had not an opportunity of seeing him more than a 1/2 hour during the whole time I was there. My outfit took no cash from my pocket, it all being charged to the Capt.

I am glad to hear that George has something to do, and hope he may retain his situation; tell him to save the dough. I suppose Doc will attend to his things as soon as he can.

They dont know what a life perserver is in this country. But I've got an India Rubber Coat. May G.R.G.(Gliddon) soon recover from his--Tell him I shall not forget the skin and there will be no difficulty in bringing it on; if I get one the skull will be left in for a pillow. Glad to hear you have succeeded so well with the view. Bill Wolfe has taken our route before we had a chance but live in hopes our time will come some day; and soon I hope. Joy to him.

Get rid of the gout leave A.etc.,save the dough. Make notes of any good effects you may find in Col. in a little book with a sketch and writing together. Glad you've found out Lehman's Mountain. Hope Mrs McG. may soon recover, she is too clever a body to leave yet.

I found some muscles about this size (indicated) and smaller, which I shall send on by Doc if I get a chance; they are ribbed on the outside - I dont know that they are a rarity. The Flowers are the thing that are most curious.

We have had rain ever since we have been in Camp. The men are becoming discontented;we have lost some 10 or 12 horses. The accomodations are bad, not tents enough for all, so Albert Peck and

myself are quartered in West Port, a dirty place filled with Indians Spaniards, Jews and all sorts and sizes of folks.

On Monday we visited the Methodist Missionary Station about 3 miles out; the place is a very (fine?) one. The farm is large and the ground fine. The principal is a hard brick faced looking man- Poor souls, what they have to suffer for God('s) sake. They have to put up with all the inconveniences of life, such as good food, warm beds, good houses. If any body should be assisted it is them. What in the world do beggars want for -give all you have to the missions - How I despise them- the hypocricy - they civilize the Indians by mixing white blood with the coming generation. The only way that will work. There are some fine looking girls among them- but how many virgins I cant say. We staid to dinner, the head said a grace about six feet long. If you ask an Indian if he is part white his answer is no- from Mission, or, as one told me - Methodist, God Damn you. Success to them.

Try what you can make out of that sketch, put some horses in the fore ground and carry distant green up to the lead mark. The rain still continues.

We were marched to camp yesterday with the expectation of starting, but could not pack on account of the rain. The river is rising - very high. I just saw a paper stating the death of General Jackson-well I hope he has a snug nook near the fire in heaven and not compelled to join in the songs.

Messrs Waugh and Sysdale (?) are still here- pressing to go; I cant say Capt told me he thought I would be sufficient; but from what Waugh told me yesterday he may go along. The Capt seemed to think it would not be doing me justice, in making engagements that would interfere with my plans in any way. It would be pleasant to have him along- he is here at my expense- I can of course say nothing as to his going or staying; it depends on how long we may remain.

We pass the time pleasantly enough now singing etc.,but I'm getting tired of this place and wish to be on the road. The Prophet's feast was introduced and took well. We are a great set of Punsters, at it all the time, they are about like yours and Strik's. We have a bell on top of the house with which (we) amuse ourselves ringing day and night.

We will leave tomorrow (Saturday 20th) for about 10 miles from our present camp so that we may get away from civilization and Brandy. It is an absolute waste of time to be staying in our present place. Our route will be southern along the Arkansas and down in California in which place we expect to winter. It is not likely that we will touch the Columbia River at all as he has been all over that Country. So we will have a much more pleasant time as regard the Climate. He promises me as much as I can do.

Mocassins with bead doings on are worth 5 bits, Skin pants $5.00 - all befringed. - I begin to look quite aboriginal like in Color and dress.

Try and get a peep at Fremont's reports and see what style of Engraving the flowers are in; he is very well pleased from what he told me it is done on stone so if you have time get to work at it as you may as well have the work as anybody. I guess Jimmie(?) McG. will prepare a stone for you. Get into drawing on stone also, both may be useful on my return. If you can afford it and come across any places that you think would be useful (all kinds horses mules etc) pick them up. Study anatomy, German and French you will have a chance with Doc when he returns. The 1st you will want in your drawing and the others when we go to France and Switzerland.

To hell with the Fistula I thought that was well long ago he ought to go live in Burlington a while it would do him good living in luxury seems to aid its growth. Does the Doc ever come out o'night now- and Brick Top how is he getting on- is No.6 a(s) wheezy as ever he ought to quit that habit it is not healthy. I hope Stricker has enough to do. I hope you and Doc will have a pleasant time up at the Gap are his legs insured. Stick to the Union and huzza for Christ tell them you heard from me and that I had visited the Mission which is in a flourishing state, about 60 scholars 25 females- and happy and in a fair way to find Jesus - It may do some good and will make a short paragraph - give it as an extract from a letter- humbug- do everything in such way as you can.

You can get good Skin out here for 3 and 4 bits if you bargain with the old folks for it - cheap enough - but look out for--- Their appearance is quite picturesque - The men have leggins coming about 1/2 way up the thigh - their shirt tail covering them-

a red sash or plain leather belt round the waist- all covered by a ragged cotton Hunting shirt- and the head topped off with a Handkerchief - The women are up and down like a planed board no grace no poetry - it wants a good deal of imagination to make them like Chapman paints them- what they are at home I dont know.

We start tomorrow for certain. There are 5 of us now together drinking - one has been --- never mind as long as you are happy - So here's your health and every body elses "Blicke zum Himmel".

West Port June 1845

I hereby authorize my brother Richard Hoomdon Kern of Philadelphia to receive all money due me and settle all my business with Government etc.

Witness my hand
Edward M.Kern
Artist U.S.E.Expedition.

Here are the last conundrums you will hear from me Why is Ned Forrest like a Poker- because he's a grate actor - Why is the Prairie like Philadelphia - because it contains the Buffer-low in stovepipe.

(Written on address-page)

It is not likely you will hear from me again till I get to ---(?) fort where I may have a chance of writing. Everything is so dull here that there is not enough to fill up- hardly- Tell Steve I will write to him from the above place if I get a chance - when I will have more matter to communicate Remember me to all and drink my health when you all come together. So good by and take care of yourself.

Ned.
(E.M.Kern)

To
Mr Richard H.Kern
62 Filbert St.,near 10th.
Philadelphia,
Penna.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Castro's Edict

of March 8, 1846

in which

Fremont and His Party are Denounced as a Band of Robbers

and the Mexicans are

Incited to Attack and Expel Him

Lieutenant Kern's Manuscript Copy of the Document the Existence and Genuineness of which have heretofore been doubted

California
1846

Introduction to Volume III

CASTRO, the Mexican Commander, became suspicious of Fremont, and this feeling of distrust, which speedily developed into avowed enmity, was due to several causes. Fremont had stated to him on the occasion of their meeting a few days before, that ten thousand American emigrants had already gathered in Missouri and intended to march overland to California during the coming summer, despite the Mexican Government's attitude of hostility toward such a movement. Another cause found its origin in the acts of some of Fremont's men who had paid a drunken visit to a neighboring ranch, and whose actions while there had been magnified by rumor. A third cause was Fremont's high-handed attitude toward the local civil authorities and toward Castro likewise, in connection with an accusation of horse-thievery made against some of the party. All these things, coupled with the fear that Fremont and his men were merely the thinly disguised vanguard of an American invasion, led Castro to send a letter to Fremont in which that officer was ordered to leave the country forthwith. This was on March 3d. Fremont's only answer was to move to the Galiban Mountains, where at Hawk's Peak he threw up a log breastwork and raised the American flag. In response to this manœuvre Castro immediately assembled a force of some 200 men at San Juan Bautista—within sight of Hawk's Peak—preparatory to the use of force in ejecting the Americans from Mexican territory. Such was the situation on March 8th, and Castro's proclamation of that day (Kern's copy of which is here contained) was obviously intended to inflame his followers for the expected clash.

The existence and the authenticity of this proclamation have heretofore been matters of dispute. Hittel, in his History of California, and in his analysis of the events with which the document is concerned, makes no mention of it. That historian knew only of the proclamation issued by Castro against Fremont five days later, on March 13th, which was three days after Fremont's evacuation of his fortified camp and retreat northward. In the Sawyer Manuscript, on page 26, a transcript of the paper was given, but Sawyer confounded the pronunciamento with that of March 13th. Bancroft discusses the possible existence of the edict in his History of California (Vol. V, p. 12, note) and points out that some of its early sentences, as quoted by Sawyer, are almost identical with the language used in the known proclamation of the 13th, whereas the vital portion of this text calls the Mexicans to arms to "lance the ulcer" (*i.e.*, to destroy Fremont and his party) and Bancroft concludes his opinion with the words: "Its genuineness may be doubted."

The discovery of this manuscript, however, among Lieutenant Kern's papers, ends pre-existing speculation on the subject. The paper is entirely in the hand of Kern, who was one of the principal persons in the Expedition against which

the proclamation was issued, and who, behind Fremont's breastwork of logs, was actually within spy-glass distance of Castro's headquarters on the day in question. The threat of the Mexican Chieftain was no doubt conveyed to the camp of the Americans at once upon its promulgation, where Kern—either under orders or on his own initiative—snatched a piece of paper and preserved the phraseology of the document.

On the night of March 10th, Fremont, having received information from Larkin, the American Consul at Monterey, that Castro was about to attack him, left Hawk's Peak with his little band and marched toward the Sacramento, thus avoiding a premature passage of arms, and Castro contented himself with another proclamation—that of March 13th.

Events thereafter moved swiftly. In California a spirit of discontent was growing, both among the American settlers and among that part of the native population which favored annexation to the United States, while three thousand miles to the east the preparations for a conflict were going forward. Lieutenant Gillespie was sent from Washington across Mexico with messages for Fremont, followed him swiftly northward through California, finally overtook him on May 9th, and imparted confidential information, the precise nature of which has never been disclosed, but which determined the ostensible explorer to reverse his steps and march back to the South immediately.

Late in May Fremont reached the Buttes, near Lassen's ranch, and from his camp sent forth a message summoning every American settler in the Sacramento Valley to come to him at once. At the gathering which ensued, and at later discussions between the settlers and others of Fremont's party, the general design of an uprising of the Americans against the existing Government took shape.

The revolution which followed, and which the settlers believed was favored by Fremont and perhaps secretly approved in some degree by the United States Government, is known in history as the Bear Flag Revolt. On June 11th a party of about twenty settlers left Fremont's camp, and after receiving similar accessions until it numbered more than thirty, captured the town of Sonoma on June 14th, taking as prisoners General Vallejo, Lieutenant Colonel Victor Prudon, Captain Salvador Vallejo, and Jacob Leese. The Mexican captives signed Articles of Capitulation; the Americans signed a Proclamation of Independence; the prisoners were taken to Sutter's Fort and there locked up; Fremont put himself at the head of the insurgents, made Sutter's Fort his base of supplies, placed it and the prisoners in charge of Edward M. Kern, and proceeded openly in a vigorous campaign against the Mexicans.

Amid these scenes and acts came the news that hostilities had broken out on the Rio Grande between the United States and Mexico. On July 1st or 2d Commodore Sloat reached Monterey on his flagship, the *Savannah,* there learned of the situation in the North, and on the 7th took the decisive action which placed California under the American flag.

(Manuscript Number 8)

The Citizen Jose Castro Lieut Col- of the
Mexican Army and Commander in Chief of the
Department of Cal.

--------oo--------

Fellow citizens: A band of robbers commanded by a Capt of the U.S.Army J.C.Fremont, have, without respect to the laws and authorities of the Department daringly introduced themselves, into the country and disobeyed the orders both of your Commander in Chief and of the Prefect of the district, by which he was required to march, forwith, out of the limits of our Territory; and without answering their letters he remains encamped at the farm "Natividad" from which he sallies forth committing depredations, and making scandalous skirmishes.

In the name of our native country I invite you to place yourselves under my immediate orders at head quarters, where we will prepare to lance the Ulcer which (should it not be done) would destroy our liberties and independence for which you ought always to sacrifice yourselves, as will your friend and fellow citizen.

Head quarters at "San Juan"
Signed Jose Castro

8th March 1846.

The Fort Sutter Papers

"To the Inhabitants of California"

Sloat's Proclamation

ON

Raising the Flag

AND

Taking Possession of California

in the Name of

The United States of America

One of the Original Manuscript Copies Written Aboard His Flagship the *Savannah*, at Monterey, on July Fifth and Sixth; sent Northward to Montgomery and others on July Sixth and Proclaimed on July Seventh

U. S. S. *Savannah*, Harbor of Monterey
July 5-6, 1846

Introduction to Volume IV

THIS proclamation has been described by Hittel (Vol. II, p. 466) as "one of the most interesting and significant State papers in the American archives." When it is borne in mind that this paper is the foundation document upon which rests the United States title to more than 158,000 square miles of territory; that it brought under the national flag a region which has contributed billions in mineral riches to the country's wealth and altered the economic and monetary conditions of the world; that the territory so attained has become one of the principal States of the Union, with a population of about 3,000,000; that its promulgation gave to the United States a continental unity, a dominant frontage on the Western Coast and a command of the Pacific Ocean; and that these results of its issuance are among the chief elements which have elevated America to the rank of a World Power—then it is realized that the historian's characterization of the document, as here quoted, is a conservative estimate of its consequence. It is quite safe to say that the Proclamation of Monterey, when weighed by the results which have flowed from it, is among the profoundly important documents of the nation's records.

The history of its evolution and issuance is a peculiar one, possessing an interest in keeping with its station among the annals of the country. Commodore Sloat, who prepared it, was Commander of the Pacific Squadron. On June 24, 1845, Secretary of the Navy Bancroft—having in mind the probability of war with Mexico—sent to Sloat a secret and confidential instruction which in part read: "If you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit." Again on August 5th and October 17th of the same year Secretary Bancroft repeated the Government's desires, substituting the expressions "in the event of war," and "in the event of actual hostilities," for the phrase previously used. Thus the situation stood until the eve of decisive events. On May 13, 1846, Secretary Bancroft sent to Sloat a message declaring: "The state of things alluded to in my letter of June 24, 1845, has occurred. You will therefore now be governed by the instructions therein contained." On May 15th, after war had been declared to exist, the Secretary sent an explicit command to take San Francisco and Monterey, and to conciliate the people of California. Another message of like tenor was dispatched to Sloat on June 8th.

On May 10th, Sloat's Fleet Surgeon, William M. Wood, was at Guadalajara, Mexico, on his way eastward to the States and charged with instructions to send back to Sloat, who was aboard his flagship, the *Savannah,* on the west coast of Mexico, any important news of impending trouble. At Guadalajara, Wood heard of the first pitched battle on the Rio Grande, and secretly sent a mes-

senger to Sloat with word that hostilities had begun. This intelligence was received by Sloat on May 17th, and he next day sent word to Larkin, at Monterey, to the effect that he expected to proceed there immediately. But he changed his mind, and vacillated in his purpose until June 5, when official news of the capture of Matamoros came. Still he did not act, and on June 6th he wrote to Secretary Bancroft saying he had concluded that his instructions of June 24, 1845, did not justify him in "taking possession of any part of California." When this communication from Sloat reached Washington he was severely reprimanded, and an order was issued removing him from his command.

Before these official reproofs had become of record, however, Sloat had at last conformed to the instructions given him. On June 7th he again changed his mind; on June 8th he sailed for California "to carry out the orders of the Department"; and on July 1st or 2d he reached Monterey aboard the *Savannah*. There he heard of the Bear Flag Revolt and of Fremont's operations, and on July 5th came official despatches from Montgomery, who was at Yerba Buena on the *Portsmouth*.

His final decision was then reached. He spent July 5th and 6th with Larkin and his Lieutenants, busily preparing copies of the proclamation, written in long hand on the ship's foolscap paper by his officers, and on the night of the 6th the *Portsmouth's* launch was started back to Fremont and Montgomery with copies of it and a message which declared: "I have determined to hoist the flag of the United States at this place to-morrow." He also sent instructions to hoist the flag and issue the proclamation "at Yerba Buena, or at any other proper place." This particular copy of the proclamation is the one sent to Sutter's Fort, and printed statements made soon afterward suggest that it was Fremont's own copy. The Monterey *Californian* of March 20, 1847, in a discussion of these events, stated that Robert Livermore was the courier who carried the proclamation to Fremont and Lieutenant Kern, and in the San Jose *Pioneer* of August 23, 1879, was printed a statement made by John Daubenbiss, one of the relay couriers employed in conveying Sloat's messages on the occasion in question. Daubenbiss said: "Dr. Stokes received the despatch from Pitts, who had brought it from Commander Sloat at Monterey, and he asked me to carry it to Captain Fremont, who was at Sutter's Fort. I rode to the San Joaquin River, and being unable to swim my horse across the river, I returned to Livermore (ranch) and got Mr. Livermore to carry the proclamation to Fremont, which he did with the aid of his Indians."

At ten o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, July 7, 1846, Sloat landed 250 men, who marched to the Monterey Custom House and there read the proclamation and ran up the flag of the United States.

To the Inhabitants of California.

The Central Government of Mexico having commenced hostilities against the United States of America, by invading its territory, and attacking the troops of the United States on the North Side of the Rio Grande, with a force of seven thousand men under the command of General Ariste, which army was totally destroyed and all their artillery, baggage, &c., &c, captured on the 8th and 9th of May last, by a force of two thousand three hundred men under the command of General Taylor, and the City of Matamoras taken and occupied by the forces of the United States. The two nations being actually at war by this transaction I shall hoist the standard of the United States at Monterey immediately, and shall carry it throughout California.

I declare to the inhabitants of California that although I come in arms with a powerful force, I do not come among them as an enemy to California, but on the contrary, I come as their best friend - as henceforth California will be a portion of the United States and its peaceable inhabitants will enjoy the same rights and privileges as the citizens of any other portion of that nation, with all the rights and privileges they now enjoy, together with the privileges of choosing their own Magistrates and other officers for the administration of Justice among themselves, and the same protection will be extended to them as to any other state of the Union. They will also enjoy a permanent Government under which life, property, and the constitutional rights and lawful security, to worship the Creator in a way most congenial to each ones sense of duty will be secure, which unfortunately the Central Government of Mexico cannot afford them, destroyed as her resources are by internal factions and corrupt officers, who create constant revolutions to promote their own interests and oppress the people. Under the Flag of the United States California will be free from all such troubles and expense, consequently the country will rapidly advance and improve both in agriculture and commerce as of course the revenue laws will be the same in California as in all other parts of the United States, affording them all manufactures and produce of the United States, free of any duty, (and all foreign goods at one quarter the duty) they now pay: a great increase in the value of real estate

and the products of California. With the great interest and kind feelings I know the Government and people of the United States possess toward the Citizens of California, the Country cannot but improve more rapidly than any other on the continent of America.

Such of the inhabitants of California whether natives or foreigners as may not be disposed to accept the high privileges of Citizenship and to live peaceably under the free Government of the United States, will be allowed time to dispose of their property and to remove out of the country if they choose, without any restriction, or remain (in) it observing strict neutrality. With full confidence in the honor and integrity of the inhabitants of the Country I invite the Judge and, Alcades, and other civil officers to retain their offices and to execute their functions, as heretofore, that the Public tranquility may not be disturbed, at least until the Government of the Territory can be more definitely arranged.

All persons holding titles to real estate, or, in quiet possession of lands, under the color of right shall have those titles and rights guarantied to them. All churches and the property they contain in possession of the Clergy of California, shall continue in the same rights and possession they now enjoy.

All provisions & supplies of every kind furnished by the inhabitants for the use of the United States, Ships, and Soldiers will be paid for at fair rates, and no private property will be taken for public use without just compensation at the moment.

U.S.Ship Savannah
Harbour of Monterey
July 7th 1846.

(Signed) John D.Sloat
Commander in Chief
of the United States
Naval Forces in the
Pacific Ocean.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Kern
In Command at Sutter's Fort

Commodore Stockton's Message

written on the

United States Frigate *Congress*

Appointing Him a

First Lieutenant in the

California Battalion

Monterey, July 25
1846

Introduction to Volume V

COMMODORE STOCKTON'S official order herein contained, by virtue of which Edward M. Kern, the young Philadelphia artist of Fremont's Expedition, was transformed into an army officer by the United States, significantly illustrates the complexities of the situation which existed in California in 1846. Though Stockton, who issued it, was a naval officer, his commands and orders overrode all others, being as supreme in the interior as they were afloat or on the coast. The California Battalion to which Kern was appointed was in no sense a naval force, nor even—so far as its origin was concerned—a governmental military body. It was, rather, a group of armed insurrectionary volunteers, numbering originally some 250 members, banded in a common cause and welded into permanent being by those events participated in by it during the Bear Flag Revolt. When Fremont determined to place himself at the head of this party he went to Sonoma with his own company of men, and there, on July 4th or 5th, joined forces with them, taking over William Ide's position as their leader and assuming general charge of the movement. At his insistence a greater degree of military order and discipline was achieved, and the force then named and thereafter called the California Battalion was organized and came into being.

Leaving Captain Grigsby with 50 men at Sonoma, Fremont started with the remainder of the Battalion on the 6th for Sutter's Fort, the vicinity of which he reached on the 10th, and on that night came the despatches announcing the formal occupation of California by the Government of the United States, and that Sloat had issued his proclamation at Monterey three days before. Robert Livermore, who brought this intelligence, conveyed also a United States flag which was raised above the Fort, and the proclamation was duly read the following morning, July 11th.

With the raising of the flag (one was also sent from Sonoma by Lieutenant Revere, according to Sutter in his "Personal Reminiscences") the Bear Flag phase of the Conquest came to an end, and the authority of the United States began.

Fremont at once went to Monterey to discuss the situation with Sloat, who, finding in the course of the interview that Fremont possessed no written authority for the warlike course he was pursuing in the north, became alarmed and declined to coöperate in any further movement. But Commodore Stockton, who had already arrived (Sketch of the Life of Robert F. Stockton, p. 112), told Fremont he would accept the proffered military services as soon as he superseded Sloat in command.

Immediately upon his assumption of Sloat's duties he placed Fremont at the head of the California Battalion as its Major, with Gillespie as Captain. Those two military officers then made a compact by the terms of which they agreed to act under Stockton, and thereafter Stockton took the attitude that Fremont and his men were part of the naval force at his disposal.

It was due to these circumstances and conditions that Kern received the appointment here embodied and was transformed into an American officer. His special designation as Commander of Sutter's Fort was within the province of Fremont as Major of the Battalion, and thus Kern, whose only claim to a military career lay in his ability with brush and pencil, was catapulted to a position of armed authority and responsibility and became, through no choice of his own, the ruler of the most famous post in the West and an active participant in a world-changing conflict of arms. Out of such divergent facts arose his later activities in connection with the occupation and conquest of California.

(Manuscript Number 10)

U.S.Frigate Congress
Bay of Monterey
July 25,1846

Sir:-

You are hereby appointed a 1st Lieutenant in the California Battalion, and will report to Major Fremont for duty.

Faithfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
R.F.Stockson
Commander in Chief &c.

To
Edward Kern
1st Lieutenant
California Battalion.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Kern's Order

Commanding the Hastily Organized Emigrants

To Immediately

March to Yerba Buena

Together with His
Manuscript Records and Memoranda
Relating to the Mounting and Equipment
of the

California Battalion

Fort Sacramento
New Mecklenberg New Helvetia
1846-1847

Introduction to Volume VI

AMONG all the various phases of California's history during the eventful period that witnessed her transfer from Mexican rule, the least known has been that concerning Kern's administration at Sacramento and his relations with the personages of the time. Bancroft stated (California, Vol. V, p. 123, note) his inability to gather any facts of consequence, and summed up the paucity of his sources in the following words: "About Kern's command at the fort there is not much information extant."

The reason for this previously existing gap in the history of the period is now apparent. Kern took his records with him when he left the Fort in 1847 (an interesting theory which may possibly account for such action on his part will be developed later in these commentaries), and for some cause or purpose not fathomable to-day, he carried them westward again with him on the Fremont Expedition of 1848, only to be compelled to abandon them in the mountains during the struggle made by the party against death. There their known adventures end. The rest can only be surmised.

Several times—in later manuscripts embraced in this collection—he speaks of their loss in the catastrophe of 1848–1849. Certain of the letters written by his brother Richard Kern, and by mountaineers, guides and military men, show that a persistent and long continued search for them was maintained, and that his other brother, Doctor Robert Kern, together with the celebrated guide known as "Old Bill" Williams, lost their lives in the quest. It is now made evident by the presence of the papers here, in company with other of Kern's correspondence dated subsequent to their loss in 1848, that these documents were eventually recovered and restored to their owner. But there is no word to be found in the more than a hundred and fifty manuscripts which affords a clue concerning the manner or date of their discovery in the mountains, their restoration to the Lieutenant, or their subsequent history. Now in the year 1921, seventy-three years after their abandonment during the tragedy of a winter march by starving and freezing men, they again come to light.

The documents here contained, as well as many of those in succeeding volumes, deal with this heretofore unknown chapter in the conquest of California, namely, Kern's administration of Sutter's Fort and the surrounding regions in 1846 and 1847, and his relations, as commander there, with other figures of the Revolution. These manuscripts (with the exception of certain related ones embodied in the final volumes of the collection) are in fact the Fort Sutter Papers, and constitute all the records and correspondence kept by him in California during those years, which are now known to exist.

Kern was placed in command of the Fort by Fremont at the outset of the Bear Flag Revolution, though the precise day and circumstances of that event are not as yet certainly established. We do know that the Bear Flag prisoners were taken into custody at Sonoma on June 14th, and were sent to Sutter's Fort for safe keeping (see Hardy's bill for their transportation, which is Manuscript Number 31, in Vol. X), and it seems probable that Fremont sent Kern to the Fort at once, in charge of a detail of men to act as guard of the captives. Hensley later testified in Fremont's suit (California Claims, p. 34) that Kern was in command at the Fort before he (Hensley) started for the South, which was on the 16th. And Jacob Leese, himself one of the Sonoma prisoners, says that they were at the outset delivered to Kern. Captain Sutter, in his Manuscript Diaries, refers to Kern and his first small command as a garrison of spies left by Fremont.

But with Commodore Stockton's commission, Kern's status became quite definite. It is apparent from the documents in Volume XXIII, which constitute the garrison pay-rolls, that Lieutenants Missroon and Revere had recruited a force numbering some fifty or sixty men, and of these Kern took charge. The earliest document here revealing his command is Manuscript Number 11, entirely in his hand, and showing that the newly arrived emigrants were being recruited for the California Battalion. The other manuscripts in the present volume deal with his efforts to obtain more men for military service, to equip them, and to establish and maintain communication with Montgomery and Revere by means of mounted couriers.

The scraps of paper upon which some of these records are preserved reveal the primitive conditions amid which American institutions were first established in the land. They also connote the conscientious way in which Kern replaced his artist work by military duties. He took whatever fragments of writing material he could find, and, disdaining their appearance, gave thought only to the preservation of the facts.

(Manuscript Number 11)

Fort Sacramento 3 August 1846

Sir:-

You will proceed with your company to the Yerba Buena with as little delay as possible Reporting yourself and company immediately on your arrival to the commanding officer or to Capt Montgomery of the Portsmouth for further orders.

On your way to said place you will avoid all interference with the persons or property of the inhabitants of such farms and settlements as you may pass, conducting your company in such a manner as not to give any person the slightest cause of complaint. Hoping you will see the necessity of this mode of proceeding and act accordingly,

I am, Sir
(E.M.Kern)

To
?

(Manuscript Number 12)

F(ort) S(acramento)
Aug. (3rd) 1846.

Mr Potter
Sir:-

I have secured information that you have several horses in your possession that you took from Sonoma on your return from that place home- and as the United States is responsible for all property taken at that time I wish you would transfer all such horses over to me that I may report the same to my commanding officer. I wish you would do it quietly and at once nor force me into any measure that may be painful to you disregarding the orders of Capt Swift I wish you would send those horses down also as I believe the orders of Capt Montgomery are superior to those of Capt S(wift) and it is under his orders I am acting. As for any responsibility on your part it is all taken off by this.

(E.M.Kern)

To
John Potter.

(Manuscript Number 13)

New Mecklenberg 25 August
1846

E.M.Kern, Esqr.
Commandant of the Fort Sacramento
Sir:-

In consequence of your letter of yesterday I send you 6 of my best horses for the service of the Government, they are not very good but I have no better, for extra work on my farm I have to borrow horses from other people. I had 6 good horses on the Sonoma - said which are probably in the service of the Government.

I remain with the most respect
Sir
Your most obt servant
Th. Cordua

To
E.M.Kern, Esq
Commandant of the Fort Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 14)

Edward M.Kern, Esqr. Commandant
of the fort Sacramento

Sir:-

Inclosed I take the liberty to send you my account of the 6 horses and remain with the most respect

Sir

Your most obd servant

Th. Cordua

New Mecklenburg
August 31,1846

(Manuscript Number 15)

The U.States Government
Dbt
to Th. Cordua

1846		
August 25	To 6 horses delivered by the order of the Commandant of the fort Sacramento at $25.00	$150.00

New Mecklenberg 30 August 1846

(Manuscript Number 16)

Sept. 5,1846

Edward M.Kern
To Francis Delong Dr.

To purchase of two horses for service
of U.States @ 25.00 $50.00

Sept. 6,1846

Edw. M.Kern
To Jose Salinas Dr.

To purchase of one Horse for service
of U.States 25.00

Sept 12,1846

Edward M.Kern
To William Morrison Dr.

~~To 12 days~~

(Manuscript Number 17)

Sir:-

There is required for the U.States service one horse to be use in carrying despatches to San Francisco.

Lieutenant Jacob R.Snyder

New Helvetia
Oct 9th,1846

To
Lieutenat Kern
Commanding at
Post New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 18)

Camp. October 9th 1846

Dear Sir:-

I send by Leandreu a due bill of Benjamin Williams for a Mare borrowed of the Battalion - please present the bill and return the mare as soon as possible.

Very Respectfully
Yours &c.
Henry King
Actg. Qt.Master
Cal. Battalion

To
E.M.Kern
Lt. Commandg
Fort Helvetia

(Manuscript Number 19)

Received April 1st 1847 from Fort Sacramento one White horse, with the United States Iron (U.S) which I promise to deliver to the Commander of the United States forces at Sonoma and in case of failure am to be held responsible for the same.

his
Mathew Dorfa
mark

Fort Sacramento
Witness C.C.Sweet.

(Manuscript Number 20)

Sacramento, April the 8,1847

United States Dr to Willard Russell
for the use of two horses 14
days 80 cents per day. $11.20

(Manuscript Number 21)

New Mecklenburg, April 8th 1847

Mr Kern
Dear Sir:-

I take the liberty of writing to you these few lines by this opportunity as regards my arrangements with you, for the Government of the Un. States; when I saw you last, we understood each other, and you appeared to be quite satisfied with the understanding of my accounts, and promised to send me the bill, which I have received one bill by Mr Cordua, but that is only a part of the amount due me. The bill I received by Cordua was only for the 3 horses purchased, from me to the amount of Fifty Five dollars for the Un.S.Service, leaving an account due me for several other articles for the use of the Government at the same time my services which you are aware of, as you agreed to here; have the goodness to look over your accounts and you will find the whole amount and please send to me by the Bearer, the bill of balance due me. As I am so busy or I should come and seen yourself and by you doing me this favor, you will much oblige,

Your most obnt Svnt.
for Micahel Nye.

Left 2 pack Saddles $20.00 - I pack Bag $6.00
Services agreed to $18.00

(Manuscript Number 22)

Philada March 19 1853

Col. C.F.Smith, U.S.Army
Sir:-

In reply to your letter of the 18th Inst in relation to Mr Nye's claim, I send you a copy of the Bill of items, with prices.

Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Servt
Edw. M.Kern.

--- --- ---

Fort Sacramento Nov 9th,1846

The United States
to Michael Nye Dr

To 1 Black Horse	$25.00
2 Grey Mares $20.ea.	40.00
1 Riding Saddle	10.00
1 Pack Saddle (complete with bag)	16.00
	$91.00

I certify that the above account is correct and just that the horses and saddles were purchased by me, for the service of the United States and were necessary therefore.

Signed Edw. M.Kern
1st Lieut Cal. Batt &
Coming Sac. Dist.

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Appeal

of

William Richardson to Lieutenant Kern

in which Richardson

Asserts His Own Political Neutrality

during the

Crisis then Prevailing between
Mexico and the United States

and asks for the

Release of Captain Orbell

Sausalito
July 28, 1846

Introduction to Volume VII

THE subject matter of this letter, and its author, bring into light one of Fremont's operations against the Mexicans and one of the most interesting early figures of California history. The military movement was Fremont's chase of the Mexican leader Joaquin Torre and that commander's adroit escape; and the pioneer in question was William Antonio Richardson, the author of the letter under consideration.

Torre had been selected by General Castro to attack the Bear Flag Revolutionists, and on Sunday, June 28th, Castro sent a young messenger, Francisco de Haro, to Torre. The messenger was accompanied by his brother, and by an old man named Berreyesa, uncle of the two boys. All three were shot by Kit Carson and one or two others of Fremont's men near San Rafael, in retaliation for the previous killing of two Bear Flag men named Cowie and Fowler. Later in the same day the Americans captured an Indian bearing a letter in which Torre declared his purpose of attacking Sonoma early next morning. Fremont thereupon hurried with his men to Sonoma and on their approach to the town, just before dawn, the Bear Flag garrison on duty there mistook Fremont and his troop for Mexicans, and were on the point of annihilating them with a blast from 18 pounders. Fortunately, however, Kit Carson detected the lighted matches of the silently waiting gunners in the nick of time, and cried out the identity of the approaching force. The letter had been a ruse designed to draw Fremont away from the neighborhood and thereby afford Torre a chance to move across the Bay and effect a junction with the remainder of the Mexican army at San Pablo.

When Fremont discovered he had been outwitted he hurried back to San Rafael, only to find that Torre had made his escape by crossing the Bay during the twenty-four hours of the American's absence. The success of the Mexicans' stratagem was in large measure due to the use of a big launch owned by Richardson in which they had effected their crossing, and though the owner of the boat had been ignorant of its employment, Fremont's displeasure fell heavily upon him. Richardson had been prominent in California since 1822, when, as mate of a whaler, he left his vessel at San Francisco. In 1835 he erected the first structure ever built there, and was Captain of the Port by Mexican appointment until 1844.

Fremont took possession of Richardson's launch and sent her captain, James Orbell, to Fort Sutter, where that employee of Richardson was held in durance by Lieutenant Kern. This letter is an appeal addressed to Kern by Richardson for Captain Orbell's release, and asking if he may not have his boat given back. In it he also takes pains to assert his own political neutrality during the

struggle then in progress—a declaration he no doubt felt was necessary in view of the Torre incident and his years of work in the Mexican Government's employ. He did not, however, remain in the ill graces of the Americans, for he was again made Captain of the Port at San Francisco by Commodore Stockton, and also served as Collector of the Port in 1846 and 1847.

As is revealed in a later document (Vol. XIX, Manuscript Number 76) Captain Orbell was released, and the boat restored to its owner.

(Manuscript Number 23)

Sausalito 28th July 1846

Being informed that my launch is detained at the fort under your command and not knowing for what reason and as part of the crew have left her, which if such is the case please to liberate Captain Orbell and the indians, as it (is) a great loss to me both launch and crew; if the launch has been engaged in any unlawfull proceedings previous to her going to Sacramento, nothing can be culpable on the part of the crew as they engaged for the present trip and not before.

Not knowing for what reason she was detained I spoke to Captain Montgomery thinking it were orders from him as the American flag was hoisted after she left this place, but he informed me he knew nothing of the launch being detained and offered his influance with you to liberate her, and in case of not being in your power to free her, please to liberat(e) Capn. Orbell and the remainder of the crew and appoint a person on your part to receive her.

I think there has been some misunderstanding as I have always been very cautious in interfeering with political affairs and am certain that all will prove as such when things are all settled between the contending parties which I have not the least doubt will be very soon.

I am D. Sir with respect
Your Obt Servant
W.Richardson

To
Edwd. M. Kern, Esq.
Commanding Fort
Sacramento.

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Original Manuscripts of Bartlett's Letters Written on the *Portsmouth* to Kern at Fort Sacramento

Concerning

Conditions at Sonoma, San Juan, Santa Barbara, San Diego, Monterey and Yerba Buena; Fremont's Military Movements; Stockton's Arrival; the Work of Revere, Watmough and Missroon; the Mormon Emigrants; the New Flag

U.S.S. *Portsmouth,* Yerba Buena
July-August, 1846

Introduction to Volume VIII

WASHINGTON ALLEN BARTLETT, the writer of these letters, was the first Alcalde of San Francisco under American rule. At the time the events of 1846 began their unfolding he was a lieutenant on the *Portsmouth*, under Montgomery, and, since he spoke the Spanish language, was frequently employed by the Commodore in missions of importance, and as an interpreter during official conferences.

Late in June (the 26th) he was sent to Sutter's Fort to inform Fremont that Sloat had left Mazatlan and was on his way northward to Monterey, and it was doubtless on the occasion of this visit that he made Kern's acquaintance. Bartlett's activities at the Fort have heretofore been the subject of some dispute. It has been claimed in his behalf that he organized the garrison there, and, indeed, such a statement was made by Captain John A. Sutter in his Manuscript Diary (p. 8 of that document). But Lieutenant Kern's own payrolls of the garrison, as contained in Volume XXIII of these papers, seem to disprove that assertion.

As appears from the messages now under discussion, Bartlett took pains to keep Kern informed of every development of importance. In the letter of July 29th, Manuscript Number 24, he tells him that Dangerfield Fauntleroy (who was Purser of the *Savannah*) has been given command of a company—soon to achieve fame as Fauntleroy's Dragoons—and was stationed at San Juan. The same letter contains intelligence of the formation of a garrison at Sonoma, where Revere was to command, and with which post and officer Kern was afterward to have such close relations. (See Vol. XIII.) Nor did Bartlett neglect to inform Kern that his own particular chieftain, Fremont, was reported as about to go southward. Bartlett's wording of this passage clearly indicates that Montgomery and his officers regarded the Fremont party as a separate and distinct organization, and reference to Missroon's letter of August 8th (Vol. IX, Manuscript Number 27) further bears out this conclusion.

Bartlett's letter of July 30th (Manuscript Number 25) confirms the news regarding Fremont's movements, and is filled with concise and very frank statements whereby Kern was posted regarding every act on the part of both the land and naval forces. The letter concludes with the hope that the flag sent to the Fort pleased Kern and Captain Sutter, and mentions the muslin which had been sent so that the proper number of stars might adorn its azure field. (See also Dr. Henderson's letter, Vol. XVI, Manuscript Number 55, postscript.)

These revelations, thus freely made by an officer of the regular service to the young and inexperienced commander at Sacramento, were embarrassing

to Kern. It should be remembered that the commission which regularized his position was not issued by Stockton until July 25th (Vol. V, Manuscript Number 10), and could not have reached the Fort at the time Bartlett was discussing the secrets of the higher command.

Kern's attitude of delicacy is shown in Bartlett's letter of August 6th (Manuscript Number 26), wherein the naval officer assures him that he need have no fears on the subject, and of course by that time it must have been well known to those on the *Portsmouth* that Kern had been appointed a Lieutenant.

The final long and interesting letter is crowded with news of Revere, Watmough, Fauntleroy, the Mormon influx, Brannan's schemes, and other matters, and must have convinced Kern that he belonged to the little circle, whose members were entitled to know all that was taking place.

Bartlett's transfer from the quarter-deck to the position of San Francisco's first mayor took place very soon after the date of the last letter herein contained. He was appointed to the position by Montgomery on August 26th, as a military measure. But on September 15th he was formally elevated to the post as the result of a municipal election at which nearly one hundred votes were polled!

(Manuscript Number 24)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
July 29th 1846

My dear Sir:-

Information has just reached us that the Squadron will soon be here.

Mr. Fauntleroy commands a troop of 25 men and are Stationed at "San Juan" - The latest news from Monterey is that Fremont was about to go South - Orders have come for mustering into the U.S.Service fifty men at Sonoma I believe to elect their own officers - with 12 mounted men to keep the road open from Yerba Buena to the Pueblo- I have no other news whatever - Please open the package of letters addressed to the U.S. and return to me the letter addressed Genl. Morris, cr. Messrs. Willes and Fuller as I shall not now wish to send it to the U.S. please send it to me by the first opportunity under an envelope to my address.

(W.H.Bartlett.)

To
Mr Kern
Sutter Camp.

(Manuscript Number 25)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth July 30th 1846

My Dear Sir:-

I wrote you a hasty line yesterday which I had not time to finish, but sent it by Hunter to Sonoma.

Last evening we received information that Fremont marched South from Carmel Valley below Monterey - on Friday last the Sloop of War Cyane sailed on Saturday with men on board to be landed at Santa Barbara or St Diego - and to enroll and sustain the Fortresses (?) there. Commodore Sloat propbably sailed for Panama yesterday. Fontleroy is at San Juan with 30 men. Orders have gone to Sonoma to enroll 50 men for U.S. Service, and 12 for Yerba Buena (Mounted men) to keep the road clear to the Pueblo. The information of the whole squadron coming here was correct when we got it - but a change in movement occured on Monday when Commodore Stockton took command - he also goes to the Southward, but how far or with what particular object we are not yet informed. We have an officer at Monterey who will be back on Sunday any information he may bring I will send you the first opportunity.

I enclose you a letter from Mr Bidwell which I recd.last night.

Please send me the first opportunity the letter (in the package for the U.S.) addressed to Genl. Morris - or Messrs Morris, Willes and Fuller and oblige, yours very truly,

W.H.Bartlett

Respects to Capt Sutter- I hope the flag pleased you and him - the flag should have 28 stars hence we sent some muslin to put them in.

W.H.B.

To
E.M.Kern, Esq
Comg. at Fort
Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 26)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena Aug. 6th 1846

My Dear Kern:-

Your notes of 30th Ulto. and 2d inst. I have the pleasure to acknowledge with the enclosures, and thank you for them. You need to be under no apprehension as to the account of liability you are incurring;in consequence of the information given you in my hasty notes.

I should have written also by Missroon, if I had, had time but then I presumed he would give you all the news; At the time I had no papers, to send you, but he took some (U.S. and Sand. Islds.) I have now some which I take great pleasure in sending you; and will continue to do so, so long as we remain here, and you are within reach.

I regret I could not get your letter home by Com. Sloat, but he had gone. We barely saved our own distance, as it was, some failed in consequence of the asinine conduct or double-dealing of "that ass Stokes": I believe the ignorant knave has been, and still is against us.

Watmough left this morning for Santa Clara with eight men the nucleus of his command to be stationed there. We hear that the Indians have become very bold in the Santa Clara valley and Santa Cruz Mountains and having stolen horses.-Fauntleroy is in pursuit of them, or was at last accounts.

Revere is already established at Sonoma. And has enrolled a company on the footing of U.S.Dragoons, as to pay and equipment.

Capt. Smith an old citizen of the U.S., and a wealthy citizen of "Bodega" has received, and accepted, the appointment of Chief Magistrate of that region.

The Mormons who came in the Brooklyn, number old and young 230!! instead of 178, as stated in the papers. There is no doubt but the grossest deception was used to induce them to emigrate none but their leader has ever been

at "Nauvoo". I have seen their paper, published in New York in Decr. from the accounts in letters from "Nauvoo"- there can be little doubt, but they are coming to California like a swarm of Locusts; for my part I do not see how such a vast horde of people are to be supported here during the next year. Capt. Smith of Bodega told me this morning that about 30 of the company now here, go with him to his place in his employ- some on their own account others to pay their earnings into the company - I scarce know what to make of "Brennan" their leader- he seems a shrewd fellow of limited education (a practical printer) - but from certain things that are leaking out- I believe he is playing a deep game for his own benefit.- But we shall see anon. I am certain they could not have landed, had they arrived before our flag went up. I doubt much whether it pleases the leader- although it does the people.

I have now to request that you will please return me all the letters you have which are addressed to Mrs Bartlett, and any others that have my initials W.H.B. on them, also two letters addressed one to Major Graften the other to Lieut Graften.

Should you learn that Capt.Fremont is about sending an express home at any time; and can advise us of it so that we can send by it, I shall be greatly obliged to you - in the mean time I retain your letter - to R.H.Kern, Esq- to send it home via Sandwich Islands- and Panama- unless you shall again desire me to send it to you thinking you may desire it to go- by what seems to me the only available chance since the Commodore has gone.

There are regular Steam packets from Callao (Lima) once a month.

I regret it is so unpleasant with you at the Fort- hope Missroon's visit will have improved matters.

Please present my respects to Capt Sutter.

Very truly yours
W.H.Bartlett.

To
E.M.Kern, Esq.
"New Helvetia".

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Original
Manuscript Letters and Orders

sent by

Lieutenant Missroon of the *Portsmouth*

to

Kern at Sutter's Fort

announcing the

Declaration of War against Mexico

and

Discussing the Formation of a Garrison at Fort Sacramento; the Opening of a Mail Route to Sonoma; the appointment of Captain Sutter as a Lieutenant under Kern; and the Weakness and Vulnerability of the Fort

Fort New Helvetia : Yerba Buena
August : 1846

Introduction to Volume IX

THE letters in the present volume are those written in August of 1846 by Lieutenant John S. Missroon to Lieutenant Kern, and embrace the period of the newly appointed lieutenant's first activities and work in connection with the administration of affairs at the Fort, where he was thereafter to command.

Missroon, their author, was one of Montgomery's officers on the *Portsmouth,* a great favorite of the Commodore's, and one of his most valued assistants. It was he who was sent to Sonoma on June 15th, by Montgomery, upon receipt of the startling news that Sonoma had been captured by a band of Americans calling themselves the Bear Flag Insurgents.

The fact that war against Mexico had been declared was, of course, unknown to Montgomery, who had been for some considerable period in the trying position of a neutral attempting to deal justly with forces opposed to the interests of his nation. Hence the lieutenant's mission to Sonoma was an extremely delicate one.

Missroon got to Sonoma on the evening of the 16th,—being the first American naval officer to reach the scene of trouble,—and his arrival was a most timely one, for to the decision he there made, and to the action he then took, has been attributed by Hittell and other close historians of the period the inspiration and continuance of the revolutionary movement. After giving Ide the written and verbal instructions sent by the Commodore, Missroon proceeded to investigate the whole situation and question the revolting Americans, who by this time were somewhat fearful of the result of their own acts. Noting their panic—and perhaps forgetting the delicate and dangerous international situation in his sympathy with the position taken and the deeds committed by his countrymen—he took the Proclamation of Independence from Ide, and stepping out before them he read aloud that document to which they had subscribed, as well as the Articles of Capitulation drawn up by Semple when the town was taken. His bearing, his uniform, and the very fact that he was an officer must have stiffened the resolution of the little band and have caused them to see that they must either succeed in the enterprise or sink to the position of marauding horse-thieves and suffer the penalties of such a status.

His work at Sonoma being accomplished he returned to the *Portsmouth,* but as indicated in Manuscript Number 27 herein contained he was again sent ashore, this time upon the important work of organizing troops and in a general supervision of affairs brought about by the occupation of the country. From the phraseology of the document it would appear that he had been actually in command at the Fort before Kern's formal assumption of the office under the

commission issued by Stockton, but this can only be conjecture. What is conclusively shown, however, and which definitely settles an historical matter heretofore in dispute, is the question of Sutter's position and authority at the Fort. John A. Sutter, throughout his manuscript diary, wrote in a manner which conveys the impression that it was he, and no one else, who commanded at the Fort in June, July and August of 1846. This letter, as well as those of Montgomery (Vol. XVIII), prove to the contrary. Manuscript Number 28 in this volume, for example, shows that Kern had appointed Sutter as a Lieutenant in the garrison, and that the appointment had been approved.

Another interesting feature of the Missroon letter of August 8th is the assumption that Fremont and Kern contemplated an early departure from the country, thus suggesting that both Missroon and Montgomery, even at that late date, were still ignorant of Fremont's actual purposes and continued to regard him as the head of an exploring party.

All the letters of Missroon are filled with information and instruction relating to the defense of the Fort, to safe communication between it, Sonoma and Yerba Buena, and to Kern's coöperation as its Commander with the forces stationed at other points.

The final document, Number 30, contains the first news of the Declaration of War by the United States against Mexico. It is dated August 19th. Thus for three months war had raged on the Rio Grande before these men, fighting in the same cause but without the sanction of that formal declaration, found themselves and their effort to be right. Fremont's untoward movement and the Bear Flag Revolution had been vindicated.

(Manuscript Number 27)

Fort New Helvetia Aug. 8th 1846

Mr Ed.M.Kern
Sir:-

In selecting and enlisting a Military Body of thirty men into the Service of the United States, of which number twenty seven are this day enlisted at this place, it is intended (by my instructions) to use it as a guard to protect this important post, which is at present under your command.

It is expected that you will organize this Body of Troops in the shortest time and most effective manner, to resist any attempt upon this post, that may be made; calling into your aid in such an emergency, as many of the civilized Indians in the employ of Capt Sutter as can be mustered, all of whom I understand are expert in the use of fire arms.

By the Militia Laws of the U.S. you will govern yourself on such occasions, and which will give to them as Militia when so employed, the pay and subsistance of Troops of the regular army for the time being. Tho' Thirty men are sufficient for a permanent Guard of this Fort, several hundred will be requisite to defend it in case of attack.

It is expected by the Commander of the Forces at Yerba Buena, Captain Montgomery, that you will introduce order, discipline and system into your command, and you will be pleased to make weekly reports of the state and condition of your command to him.

In order to facilitate communications and intelligence, you will make arrangements to forward a mail by horse back to Sonoma, where a boat from the ship will be sent to meet your express on the day it is expected to arrive there. In order to run this express with economy, you will employ some suitable person of the Troop under your command, allowing him for his expenses

etc., the extra sum of Ten (written over Five) Dollars for each trip using the Public horses.

You will be pleased to appoint one of the Thirty men of your Troop, to be Lieutenant, subject to the approval of the Commandr. of this District. - appoint two Sergeants and two Corporals. The Lieut. will be entitled to receive the pay of Lt. of Dragoons with the rations allowed not to exceed in all however ($50.) Fifty Dollars per month. To this officer you will transfer the Command, when Capt Fremont desires your departure from this country, when you will immediately report the intention of your removal to the Commander in Chief, or to the Commander of the Forces of the District at Yerba Buena.

I shall submit all that I have done to my Commander, since my leaving here, for his approval and in the mean time, you will be pleased to carry out the orders I now hand you.

Respectfully Sir
Yr Obt Servt.
J.S.Missroon
Lt. U.S.N.

Endorsed:
Orders from
Capt Montgomery
Aug. 8th 1846.

(Manuscript Number 28)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth, Yerba Buena
August 16th 1846

Sir:-

The orders I gave you in relation to the Post under your command on the 8th inst. are fully approved by my Commander, and you will be pleased to continue them in force until further orders, except that as the Indians enlisted into the service, are unaccustomed to the use of Tea and Sugar and I believe also of Tobacco, it is desirable that these articles should not be issued to them, as it is very important that we should economise their expenditure - the supply sent from the United States, does not contemplate a larger issue than what is necessary for the consumption of the Squadron. By withholding this part of the ration from those who are not accustomed to it, it is believed that the quantity left in your hands, will be sufficient for several months to come.

I neglected to obtain of you receipts for the stores left in your hands, and which are necessary to our Purser as his vouchers - will you be pleased therefore to sign the receipts which I now enclose, and transmit them by first mail to me?

The appointment of Capt Sutter as Lieutenant, on the terms mentioned in my letter of the 8th is approved, and will be continued until further orders. It is necessary however, that he take oath of allegiance to the United States of America.

I euther lost or left behind at the Fort, the copy I made of the articles of Enlistment; and which contains the names of those enlisted into the Service - will you be pleased to send me a copy in order that the names be entered on the Ship's Books.

I am directed to reiterate injunctions of caution and care in regard to your Post- and to desire that you will circumscribe as much as possible, any permission for more than two or three to be absent at one time from the Fort.

There are certain movements of a mysterious nature going on around us, that require vigilance on our part and which must prevent a feeling of security on your part. It would be well for you to keep yourself advised of any movement in your neighborhood.

Captain Montgomery desires to caution you against saying anything in your despatches to him, which might expose the weakness or vulnerability of the Fort, lest there might be advantage taken of such information by our enemy, if the despatch should be intercepted. You can write more fully by some launch.

Captain Montgomery desires me to direct that you will despatch the letter to Lt.Comdt. Howison, to Oregon, immediately, if you have not done so already - and that you will notify Lt. Comdr. Howison to pay to the bearers of the Despatch, the amount that you may agree to pay them.

Respectfully Sir
Your obt Servt.
J.S.Missroon
Lt. U.S.N.

To
Edward M.Kern, Esq
Commd. Post at Fort Sacramento

(Manuscript Number 29)

(Yerba Buena, August-1846)

Dr Sir:-

I send the clothing required by the Garrison of which Invoices, Receipts and Requisitions went up yesterday to Sonoma, to go to you by the Express courier. Also I send caps, Powder, Paper, Ink, and Flints which you asked for- for which you will please sign the Receipts and Requisition which I now enclose.

There are also the two Kids and Canns(?) for the Indian Troops at the Garrison of which I wrote Capt Sutter in my letter of yesterday and which I present to them. It seems to me that you should impress upon the minds of these Indians, the allegiance they owe now to the U.S.Flag, from the Service of which they derive their pay &c. &c.

I also send the Bag that Capt Sutter was good enough to loan me that contained the Flour - in it I have put a couple pair of half worn pantaloons which I hear is the most suitable article of exchange for Indian Curiosities - I should like to send a couple of good Bows and half a dozen arrows to send home for specimens to a public Institution.

Yours truly
J.S.Missroon

Make my respects to Capt S(utter)

To
Mr E.M.Kern
Commd Post at Sacramento
New Helvetia

(Manuscript Number 30)

(Yerba Buena Augt. 19.'46.

Dr Sir:-

I was sorry to find on my return to the Ship on Thursday night last, that the Launch of Capt. Sutter had left Yerba Buena for the Sacrimento(sic), and that by not meeting her, I have been prevented from returning his Indian, who he was pleased to loan me - and also the Bag that contained Flour. The Indian is on board Richardson's Launch; and Capt Orvall is to return him with the one he has, by the first opportunity.

As Capt Sutter is one of the Troops of your garrison he is of course, entitled to his ration, in addition to his $50. pr month with the privilege of drawing the allowance of tobacco and any reasonable allowance of Ship clothing, monthly. Please to present my regards to him. I find that I left another letter in your possession directed to my wife, Boston- will you do me the favor to despatch it to me by the next courier, under cover to Captain Montgomery?

The "Congress" is expected to be here in a month from this time- there is a report current here, that she has captured at San Pedro, the "Don Quixote", a Ship with 200 Mexican Troops on board from Acapulco - if this be true, more have either been landed already, or are on their way to California.

Some Spaniards are said to have crossed over to the Sonoma side, some days since - and several have been fired at by our Sentinels on Thursday night last, lurking about the garrison.

Yours
J.S.Missroon

We have just got the news that on the 15th May, the U.S. declared war against Mexico- and voted 50 000 men and ten millions of dollars to carry it on- all the Ships of the Navy to be fitted out and many private ones to be called into immediate Service -

Yours
J.S.M.

The Horses have not come down, nor have we heard anything of them.

J.S.M.

To
Mr E.M.Kern
Sacrimento.

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Captives of Sonoma

Embracing

Documents Relating to the Prisoners

Captured during the

Bear Flag Party's First Foray

and comprising the

Original Manuscript of the Appeal for Freedom written by Salvador Vallejo, Prudon and Leese

with

Hardy's Bill for their Transportation from Sonoma to Fort Sutter; Commodore Montgomery's Order for the Release of Carrillo and Guadelupe Vallejo; and Kern's Courtesy for their Homeward Journey

Fort Sutter

June 6—August 8, 1846

Introduction to Volume X

IT has been related in an earlier volume (Vol. III, Introduction) that the Bear Flag Party captured Sonoma on June 14th, and made prisoners of General Mariano G. Vallejo, his brother Salvador, his brother-in-law Jacob P. Leese, and Colonel Victor Prudon.

The Captives were taken from Sonoma on the same day under guard of Ezekiel Merritt, Robert Semple and several others and conveyed to Fremont's camp, some eighty miles distant on the Sacramento River, reaching there on the 16th. Fremont refused their appeal for release or parole and ordered them to be sent to Sutter's Fort and placed in confinement as prisoners of the people. Still another captive was made in the person of Julio Carrillo, who made his way to the Fort on a passport to assure Vallejo of his family's safety.

The manuscripts dealing with this event and the captivity of these famous Californians are contained in the present volume and begin with the original bill rendered by Thomas Hardy to the United States. In it (under dated entries beginning with June 6, 1846, when Merritt is charged with "ferriage on Gov'rt business," to the entry of June 23d, which reads, "Comp'y going to Sonoma, burning Corrall") may be traced the opening movements and first blows of the California Conquest. The entry having to do particularly with the matters now under discussion is that of June 16th, "Comp'y from Sonoma with prisoners." It is only a single line on a tattered sheet, and yet history is embodied there. The manuscript illustrates a fact often noted, namely; that the intimate details of great events are seldom contemporaneously recorded in documents whose appearance has fitting relation to the deeds set forth. Hardy's bill (a precious historical document) is here presented as Manuscript Number 31.

At the Fort the prisoners languished. The weeks dragged by in a weary monotony relieved only by the warmth of their indignation and an occasional outburst at the treatment accorded them, until at last Commodore Stockton formally nullified the action of the Bear Flag men by a written order transmitted through Montgomery, in which he directed the release of General Vallejo and Julio Carrillo "on their parole of honor not to take up arms, instigate or directly or indirectly participate in any movement against the authorities of the United States in California." This document is dated July 29th, and is Manuscript Number 32.

Kern now found himself in a delicate situation. He had Fremont's peremptory command to hold the prisoners, "any orders to the contrary notwithstanding" (Vol. XIX, Manuscript Number 76), and yet he was confronted by

an equally emphatic demand that they be released. It is to be noted that his decision went with the arm of the service from which his commission had originated, and he accordingly set the prisoners named by Stockton at liberty.

On the fifth of August the three remaining captives united in a joint protest and written appeal for their liberty, citing the wrongs which had been committed upon them by the Bear Flag Party and the hardships of the confinement, and agreeing to give their parole not to take up arms against the United States. The original document containing their appeal, written in Spanish and signed by Salvador Vallejo, Victor Prudon, and Jacob P. Leese, is Manuscript Number 33.

Three days later, on August 8th, they were set at liberty by Kern, probably under Montgomery's orders delivered by Missroon (Vol. XVIII, Manuscript Number 62) and the concluding manuscript is Kern's order written in French to Francois Gendreau directing him to deliver to the captives their twelve horses for the homeward journey. It contains on the reverse Jacob Leese's receipt for five horses and one mare "with hir colts."

Thus came to a close this previously unknown chapter in the first uprising of the Bear Flag Party. Three languages were employed in the manuscripts that recite its development; the various papers originated in widely separated districts, and collectively they chronicle the earliest overt acts and movements of the Revolutionists in the hand of six participants therein—Hardy, Vallejo, Leese, Prudon, Kern and Montgomery. For two generations and a half the papers vanished, yet to-day, between these covers, repose Hardy's bill for the transportation of the captives, their plea for freedom, the order for their release, and the command providing means for their return home. These circumstances almost give to the volume the attributes of a dream rather than the quality of historical actuality.

(Manuscript Number 31)

United States
to Thos M.Hardy Dr

1846	June 6	Merritt ferriage on Govt business	$0.50
	" 8	Knight	0.50
	" 11	Compy.from bear creek ferriage	3.00
	" "	Four horses until July 8	52.00
	" 14	Merritt & Neal with 5 horses ferriage	1.50
	" 16	Compy. from Sonoma with prisoners A beav & other provisions	12.00
	" 23	Comp. going to Sonoma burning corrall	5.00
	July 8	Compy. returning from Sonoma onions, &c taken from the Garden	15.00
	"	Thos Tucker A horse on Govt business	2.00
		N.Bradshaw " " " "	2.00
		N.Scott " " " "	2.00
		N.Scott " " " "	2.00
			$97.50

(Manuscript Number 32)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena July 29th 1846.

Sir:-

By the order of Commodore Robt. F.Stockton, who has succeeded to the Command of the U.S. Forces in the Pacific and California, you will please liberate Genl. Don Guadalupe Vallejo, and ----Carillo from confinement, and suffer them to return to their homes on their parole of honor; not to take arms, instigate, or directly or indirectly participate in any movement against the authorities of the U.States in California, until regularly exchanged; and not to leave their proper districts without permission from the Officer in Command at this place until further orders.

The accompanying letter to Capt Howison of the U.States Schooner Shark, at the Columbia River, I will thank you to forward if possible to its destination as soon as it can be done. It is an order from the Commander in Chief to that officer.

I am
Sir
Your Obt Servt
Jno. B.Montgomery
Commander

To
Edward M.Kern, Esq.
Commanding the Fort
at New Helvetia.

P.S. Any reasonable expense incurred by sending this order, will be defrayed by the ~~U.States Government-or-by~~ Capt Howison of the U.S.Schooner Shark. On receipt of the letter.

Respy
J.B.Montgomery
Commander.

(Manuscript Number 33)

(Translation)

Sr. Commandante:-

We the undersigned before you in due form present ourselves and declare:

That having been taken prisoners in Sonoma, in our own homes on the fourteenth day of June last by a band of foreigners commanded by one so-called Merritt, and by them conducted to the camp of Captain Frimont,(sic) who sent us to this Fort fifty days ago, without our yet knowing the reason why we have been deprived of our liberty, nor when same will be restored to us:

That the political state of the country having now been changed and the insurrectional flag of the Bear having been supplanted by that of the N.A.Republic in consequence of an international war between this Republic and that of Mexico:

That by a Proclamation published in Monterey the 7th day of July last Commodore Sloat offered in the name of the government of the United States, protection, security, guarantees, rights and privileges, to all of the inhabitants of the country, of whom the aforesaid Commodore called himself a friend. We accepted these guarantees and had the honor to direct to him under date of 23 of last month a representation in which we solicited our liberty, which seemed to us to be just:

That having already passed the regular time in which we should have received an answer, we presume that on account of some accident our appeal has been intercepted or detained:

That the place of our residence being Sonoma, which was taken without resistance, and which is occupied by a garrison belonging to the new government:

Finally, that the Mexican Chief who formerly governed that place and to whose orders

were subject the two undersigned soldiers, has accepted the reform and is free:

We declare the same allegiance and solicit, Sir, that we be restored to our homes, offering under our word of honor not to oppose neither directly nor indirectly the provisos taken or to be taken that eminate from the N.A.Government to whose disposition we subject ourselves:

The poor health under which we suffer since we have been in this place, and the lack of resources, in a not remote case of grave or serious sickness, in a place so notoriously unhealthy as this is, is one of the considerations which we request you to take into account for acceeding to this, our petition:

If, notwithstanding what we have set forth, it is not in your power to set us at liberty under the aforesaid conditions, we ask that we be transferred in the same class of prisoners to Sonoma or to Yerba Buena, where we could secure proper resources which we lack here and not be exposed to a breakdown of our health:

And if this even exceeds your authority we request that you forward this petition, in order that it will reach the hands of the proper authority:

P.E.

To your Excellency we request that you will be good enough to admit this, our petition, and act on the same as we request, because it is just, or forward the same to the proper authority for its decision.

Fortaliza de Nueva Helvecia,
Agosto 5 de 1846.

Victor Prudon

Salvador Vallejo

Jacob P.Leese.

(Manuscript Number 34)

Fort Sacramento 8th August 1846

Monsieur Francois Gendrou:-

Je vous prie delivree a Monsieur Leese six Cheveaux qu'll choisera JL

Je vous salue
Edward M.Kern
Comg.Fort Sacramento

P.S. Laissez choisir encore
six chevaux du fer de Don Salvador Vallejo

P.S. Quatre Cheveau de plus pour
Messrs Ridley & Scott. (16 Chevaus en tout)

(written on the back in pencil)

I received four Horses with Salvador Vallejo's
Iron Received one Horse one Mare with hir colts
with J.P.Leese Iron on.

Jacon P.Leese.

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Oregon Express

Agreements and Preparations made by

Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort

at the

Order of Commander Montgomery

whereby

News of the California Crisis

might be sent

To Captain Howison of the *Shark*
in Oregon Waters

Fort Sacramento
August–September, 1846

Introduction to Volume XI

THE situation on the Pacific Coast in July of 1846 was a precarious one. The occupation and Conquest of California was in full stride; its prosecution had nearly exhausted the available forces which could be recruited on land; and the ships of war had been stripped of every man who could be used to better advantage ashore. A possible clash with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary had prompted the sending of Captain Howison and the *Shark* to the Columbia River for the better observation of events and the protection of American interests in that quarter.

To acquaint Howison, then, with the diplomatic intelligence from Washington regarding the course the Oregon wrangle was taking, and likewise with news of the march of events in California was a matter of the greatest importance, and one of Stockton's first acts upon reaching the Coast was to direct that an immediate express be sent to the Captain in Oregon waters (Vol. X, Manuscript Number 32). And since no ship of his small fleet could wisely be spared for the purpose it was decided to transmit the message by land. To Lieutenant Kern at Fort Sutter was given the duty of organizing the necessary party, and these papers are the documentary records kept by him in relation to that enterprise.

The first, Manuscript Number 35, is the written agreement entered into between Kern on behalf of the United States and Louis Rondeau, the French trapper and mountaineer. It specifies the terms under which Rondeau was to command the expedition of seven men in an attempt to cross the mountains and reach Howison. This document is dated in September, but was preceded chronologically by Stockton's order above mentioned, by Kern's reply thereto of August 3d (Vol. XIX, Manuscript Number 76), and by his letter of August 5th to Montgomery, which is contained in the present volume as Manuscript Number 36 and in which the Lieutenant discusses possible methods of getting news to Oregon and the cost and danger of such an enterprise.

The other related documents comprise the bills rendered to Kern by Rondeau, Nye, Cordua, and McCoon for services in connection with the expedition, and Kern's drafts of his itemized and certified accounts in the matter, as rendered to the naval authorities.

That the expedition never reached the Columbia, and, had it done so, that it would have found the *Shark* a sunken wreck with the flag from its mast floating in the breeze as the first American ensign raised in the Oregon Territory, form no part of the present discussion. The organization of the enterprise, however, though a "lost cause," is part of the annals of the old Fort, and has remained until now an unrecorded activity of Kern's administration and the events of 1846.

(Manuscript Number 35)

Agreement entered into this day of September between Edw. M.Kern, Commanding U. States forces at Fort Sacramento (on the part of the United States) on one part and M. Rondeau, M.Morrison, M.McGilveray, M.Hitchcock, M.Meadows, M.Pillett, M.Morea, Baptista & (an) Indian, on the other (part) To-Wit.

It is understood and agreed between the parties that the Latter M.Rondeau &c shall go with all possible despatch to the Columbia River in Oregon and deliver the package entrusted to their care to Neil M.Howison, Commanding U.States Schooner Shark now lying in those waters, for which they are to be paid the following sums of money- to Wit- To W. Morrison, one hundred dollars $100.00 N.B.McGilvery, Eighty Seven dollars fifty cents $87.50 C.Hitchcock, Seventy five dollars $75. A.Morea, Eighty Seven dollars fifty cents $87.50 M. Brooker, Seventy five dollars. Baptiste Indian Sixty two dollars fifty cts. M.Rondeau, One hundred forty five dollars $145.00

Edw. M.Kern

William Morrison

his
Charles Hitchcock
mark

Andrew Pillatt

Napoleon McGivery ?

his
Antoine Morea
mark

his
Louis Rondeau
Mark

his
Baptiste Indian
Mark

(Manuscript Number 36)

(Sutter's Fort, August 5th 1846)

Sir:-

The person that I wished to get for your Oregon express Arrived at this place yesterday. His terms are as follows: 12 men- with less, he says, it would be impossible to attempt (to) "pass through with any degree of certainty". His pay would be $5 per diem for himself & $2.50 for his boy, the other men would not go for less than $3. He would require 4 horses- 2 for himself & 2 for his boy & one pack animal. He would leave horses in exchange that he has here.

Mr Rondeau has passed this road about 14 times. once running an express for Capt Ring-(g)old of the E(xploring) Expedition. The time it would require to reach Fort George without accident is from 20 to 25 days. He also asks Saddles for himself and Indian. Third as(k)ed (?) if it is possible to secure the services of another he would rather.

The expense will give you some idea of the danger of the road & there are but few who are desirous of accompanying him. I might by hard pushing get 6 men including Indians up here. From what I know of the country through which he would have to pass the danger is not at all magnified. Any those who ~~went-down~~ have gone to the Yerba Buena there might be enough got to fill out the required no. (number)

Capt S(utter) says if this arrangement would not answer his launch might suit & thinks (if you could get him another launch in its place) it would be more expeditious and cheaper.

Capt Orbal (Orbell) would probably take command, his terms for the Launch are $1 per diem without crew & furnishing 4 Indians at $20 per month.

(E.M.Kern)

To
(Jno.B.Montgomery
Commanding the Northern Department
Yerba Buena.

(Manuscript Number 37)

(Sutter's Fort, September -1846)

U.S.Naval Department
U.S.Military Post Fort Sacramento
To E.M.Kern Dr.

For purchasing Horses to carry Express to Oregon, Eight in number, to be retained for the use of this post.	$200.00
for twenty three days service of Mr Rondeau in collecting men to carry express @ $2.00 per day	46.00
for Eighty Six pounds flour furnished to men engaged for O(regon) Express- as rations	6.88
for five & a half days services of Mr Nye in assisting to shoe & collect U.S.Horses	12.00
for amount paid J.A.Sutter for labor two & a half days shoeing Horses for U.S.	7.50
for amount paid J.A.Sutter for Blacksmith Shop	3.75
for four hundred Horse Shoe nails	4.00
for four men engaged to go to Oregon claims for loss of time. Twelve days @ $1.00 per day	48.00
for James McDowell for repairing gun	2.50
for Charles Burch for four Saddle Trees @ $6.00	24.00
for Medical Advice of Dr McKee	2.00
for amount paid Perry McCoon for Gathering Strayed U.S.Horses	10.00
for James Bruelhein (Adolph Bruheim) Mail Carrier - Six trips to Sonoma at $10.00 per trip-(there & back)	60.00
for James Smith marking U.S.Horses	6.00
Four Hundred & thirty two 63/100 Dollars	$ 432.63

I certify that the above Eight Horses, twenty three days services of Mr Rondeau, Eighty Six pounds flour, five & half days services of Mr Nye, amount paid Mr. Sutter for labor & Blacksmith, use of Shop and horse Shoe nails, claims of men for loss of time, McDowell for repairing gun, Smith for marking horses, Dr McKee for Medical Advice, Burch for Saddle Trees and Bruelheim for Carrying Mail - Were expenses incurred by me for the interests of the United States of America.

(E.M.Kern)

(Manuscript Number 38)

U.S.Navy Department
U.S.Military Post at Fort Sacramento
To Edward M.Kern Dr

For purchasing Eight Horses to Convey Express to Oregon, to be retained for the U.S.Troops at this Post	$200.00
for twenty three days Services of M.Rondeau in collecting men to carry express $2.00 a day	46.00
for Eighty Six pounds Flour furnished men engaged to carry Express	6.88
for five and a half days Service of Mr Nye in assisting to collect and Shoe U.S.Horses	12.00
For Amount paid to Perry McCoon, for Catching Strayed U.S.Horses	10.00
For Amount paid J.A.Sutter for labor two and a half days Shoeing U.S.Horses	7.50
for Amount paid J.A.Sutter, use of Blacksmith Shop	3.75
for two hundred horse Shoe nails	4.00
For four ~~Indians,-laber-on-U.S.Fertificatiens~~ Men engaged to go to Oregon, loss of time, twelve days at $1.00 each per day	48.00
Three hundred & thirty Eight 13/100 dollars	$338.13

I certify the above "Eight Horses" twenty three days service of M.Rondeau "Eighty six pounds of Flour" Five and a half days service of Mr.Nye, amount paid P.McCoon", amount paid J.A.Sutter for labor, and use of Blacksmith Shop", Horse Shoe Nails", and ~~laber-of-Indians-on-Fertificatiens~~ claims of men for loss of time on acct of Oregon Express, were expenses incurred by me for the interest of the United States of America.

E.M.Kern
Commg F.Sacramento
Sept 22,1846.

(Manuscript Number 39)

Sept 4. 1846

Edward M.Kern
To Napoleon McGilvery Dr

To 12 days loss of time owing to detention
of the Oregon Express @ $1.00 $12.00

********* ********* *********

Sept 4. 1846

Edward M.Kern
To Antoine Morea Dr

To 12 days loss of time owing to detention
of the Oregon Express @ $1.00 $12.00

(Manuscript Number 40)

August 15th 1846

Edward M.Kern
To Perry McCoon Dr.

To Services in Catching U.S.Horses $10.00

******** ******** ********

Sept. 7th 1846

Edward M.Kern
To M.Rondeau Dr

To twenty three days services in collecting
men to carry express to Oregon @ $2.00 $46.00

******** ******** ********

Sept. 7th 1846

Edw. M.Kern
To M.Nye Dr

To five days & half service in collecting
and Shoe U.States Horses $12.00

******** ******** ********

Augst. 31st 1846

Edw. M.Kern
To T.Cordue Dr

To three Horses for the service of U.States
@ $25.00 $75.00

The Fort Sutter Papers

Lieutenant Kern's Contract

for

Carrying the Official Mails

from

Fort Sutter to Sonoma

as contained in

The Signed Manuscript drawn up

by

Adolph Bruheim, the Despatch Bearer

and

Lieutenant Kern

In behalf of the United States

Fort Sacramento

1846

Introduction to Volume XII

THE document herein contained is the first mail contract, so far as is known, which was drawn in California, and constitutes the foundation of the United States postal service in that territory.

The previous volume (XI) reveals to what extremities the people at the Fort were forced, and what considerable sum of money was expended in the mere preparations for the delivery of a letter addressed to Oregon, and brings into strong light the difficulties of communication, the lack of facilities, and the expense in both time and money which then attended the delivery of mail.

The inception of the idea for a mail service will be found in the written instructions of Lieutenant Missroon to Kern under date of August 8th (Vol. IX, Manuscript Number 27), in which Missroon suggests that Kern make arrangements for the delivery of a weekly mail, using some suitable person of his force for the purpose. Kern for once however did not follow instructions, stating in his letter to Montgomery of August 25th (Vol. XIX, Manuscript Number 77) that the reason for his change of plan was because the men of the garrison did not know the roads. That strange and far-seeing quality which left its impress on so much that he did and on so many of his papers, caused him on this day—although possibly oblivious of the significance of his act—to set aside established military procedure as well as his instructions, and to draw up a civil contract with a private individual establishing a regular mail service.

Adolph Bruheim was the man selected by Kern for the enterprise and who thus became California's first postman. He was about 25 years of age, a good horseman and with an excellent knowledge of the country, having spent nearly four years in and about the New Helvetia district in the employ of Theodore Cordua.

Thus Bruheim first found his way into history though destined to appear once again in connection with the Donner Tragedy (Vol. XXVI). He agreed to the proposal made by Kern, and one day he and the young artist from Philadelphia sat down in the adobe fort built in the wilderness of western America by a Mexican citizen of Swiss nativity, and drew up this document. Each of them signed it—one in behalf of the United States Government and the other in behalf of himself—and, lacking the wafer seals of a more ordered civilization, they made little seals with pen-marks, and the bargain was complete. California's mail service had come into being.

(Manuscript Number 41)

An article of agreement made and entered into this day of September A.D. 1846 by and between Edward N.Kern commanding at Sutters Sacramento Fort on the part of the Government of the U.States, and James Adolph Bruheim on the other part.

Witnesseth that said Kern on the part of the Govt of the U.States as aforesaid, binds himself to furnish said Bruheim with a good horse to be used in carrying the mail once a week from fort Sutter Sacramento to Sonoma, and in addition to pay said Bruheim ten dollars for the transportation of said mail for each tripp meaning back, and forth.

The said Bruheim in consideration as above binds himself faithfully & truely to carry the mail once a week to Sonoma and bring the return mail back to Fort Sutter Sacramento, and the day for leaving the last mentioned post is to be on Tuesday unless altered by said Kern and the tripp to be performed with as little delay as possible, and always in time to enable said Kern to make up the mail of a Tuesday unless ordered otherwise in writing by Capt Montgomery of the navy or some other superior officer.

In witness whereof the parties have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals the date before written.

E.M.Kern Seal
Adolph Bruheim Seal

The Fort Sutter Papers

"Call All Americans to Arms"

The Original Manuscript of

Lieutenant Revere's Warning Message

and other

Letters, Orders and Instructions

Sent by him while

Commander of the California Volunteers

to

Lieutenant Kern

at

Fort Sacramento

Sonoma

September–December : 1846

Introduction to Volume XIII

REVERE'S "Call all Americans to Arms," the original manuscript of which introduces this volume, constitutes one of the most remarkable and interesting instances wherein history repeats itself that is to be found in the annals of the country.

The night of April 18th, 1775, is given as the date on which Paul Revere made his famous ride from Charlestown to Lexington, shouting to his countrymen the warning: "To Arms! The British are coming!"

Seventy-one years afterward, on October 17th, 1846, another message of identical quality and intent was sent forth on the opposite edge of the continent, in a region that was unknown to the Massachusetts patriot of the Revolution. Yet the Call given forth in California, and here contained, was still the cry of Paul Revere—dead long since, yet living in the spirit and purpose of his grandson, Joseph Warren Revere, author of this document. Something more than mere coincidence must be embodied here.

The message deals with and describes the most serious crisis that occurred during the Conquest. To it, and to Montgomery's letter of October 15th (Vol. XVIII, Manuscript Number 70), may be ascribed no small share in the subsequent victory of American arms and the final defeat of the Mexicans. Perhaps the intelligence thus sent to Kern led to the despatch of Fallon northward, where he busily engaged in raising volunteers and in enlisting incoming emigrants (Vol. XIV, Manuscript Number 50), and to the "Proposal" of Edwin Bryant, written a few days later and embodied in Volume XV as Manuscript Number 51. It also brings into close view one of the most active figures of the historical drama portrayed in these documents.

Joseph Warren Revere was a Lieutenant on the *Cyane*. His intimate relation with the events of 1846 began early in April, and may be found in its completeness in the book published by him in 1849, entitled, "A Tour of Duty in California." His first meeting with Kern may be ascribed to June 26th, when he reached Sutter's Fort in company with Doctor Henderson, remaining there until the 29th. He was back with Montgomery when that officer received news on July 8th of Commodore Sloat's decision to raise the flag and take the country, and it was to Revere that Montgomery intrusted leadership in the first land operation undertaken by the Navy in the north. At two o'clock in the morning of July 9th, Revere was sent at the head of an armed force to Sonoma, which town he reached before noon, and where he raised the American flag in official substitution for the Bear Party standard. From Sonoma Revere also sent a messenger to New Helvetia with a flag and news of what had taken

place, though it appears that the copy of Sloat's Proclamation which had left Monterey in charge of Pitts, and had been delivered by Livermore, preceded Revere's flag bearer to the Fort. (See Introduction to Vol. IV of these papers.)

On August 1st Revere was placed in command at Sonoma by Stockton, with Company B of the California Battalion as a garrison, and there he continued for several months. It was during this time that he wrote these letters to Kern, and they show the existence of a close attachment between the two officers.

On one occasion, in September, when all the American forces throughout California believed Kern and his little garrison at the Fort to be in imminent danger of attack and massacre, Revere left his post at Sonoma, and, with his own men, rushed across country to Kern's assistance.

This alarm and resultant action by Revere was due to the unexpected appearance near the Fort of the celebrated Walla Walla chieftain, Yellow Serpent, who had descended on the Sacramento Valley from Oregon with a company of his warriors, and who came, it was feared, for vengeance, his son Elijah having been shot the year previous in a former visit to the Fort. The arrival of Revere and his men frustrated any such ideas as the wily chief may have had, and he assured the Americans he had come in peace and not in war; that he had come to trade and not to massacre. In one of Revere's letters written after the excitement (Manuscript Number 44) he humorously refers to these things as "the Walla Walla War." (See also Vol. XVIII, Manuscripts Numbers 65, 66, and 67.) It is by no means certain, however, that Yellow Serpent did not come down into the Sacramento Valley with warfare in his heart, since the Oregon Indians attacked Whitman's mission at Waiilatpu only a few months afterward, and massacred men, women, and children. And one of the reasons given by them for the deed was the killing of Elijah at Sutter's Fort.

All Revere's letters, with the exception of that written when danger threatened his country's flag, breathe an air of cheerfulness and good-fellowship. They convey to the reader an added conviction that, after all, lineage has much to do with deeds and men.

(Manuscript Number 42)

Sonoma, Oct. 17th 1846

My dear Sir:-

All Lower California is in arms & Gillespie closely beseiged in Los Angeles. You will therefore immediately on the receipt of this order, Call in All Americans to Arms. The enemy threaten the lives of all Americans in the country, and you will enlist as many as offer sending as many to this post as you can spare from the defense of the Fort. The pay will be $25.00 a month.

The danger is imminent as a rising in the North is seriously apprehended. Enroll all for the common defense for the enemy threaten the utter extermination of all Americans.

Disarm all the Californians in your reach, and allow none to leave on journeys.

Enlist for three or six months, and send such as are willing to the Pueblo San Jose where a garrison is much needed.

In haste dear Sir
Yours
J.W.Revere
Lt. U.S.Navy
Comdg. at Sonoma

To
E.M.Kerne, Esq.
Comg offr. Ft.Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 43)

Fort Sacramento
Septr. 16th 1846

Sir:-

You will cause to be called into service & organized 30 Indians to be kept until further orders for a garrison for the Fort.

Their compensation will be fixed at six dollars a month to be paid in Clothing; & rations will be served them.

I am Sir Respectfully
Your obt Servant
J.W.Revere
Lieut. U.S.Navy
Commanding California
Volunteers.

To
Acting Capt. E.M.Kern
Comg garrison.

(Manuscript Number 44)

Sonoma, Oct. 17th 1846

My dear Kerne:-

I received your note and the accompanying articles yesterday, I am exceedingly obliged to you for the mocassins and think also that you are very good pay to fork up before you receive the articles.

I have written down for the Jacket &c. to be sent to me by a boat which went a few days since, of the largest size (pants) & No.2 Jacket which I think will suit you & as soon as they come they shall be sent.

I have had a devil of a shake & so has all the men who went to the Walla Walla war.

I am at present much employed with my accounts being soon to be relieved here.

I have bought a rancho & want the Old Dutchman & wife to come and settle on it. I have not yet paid for it, I have to pay the damn fellows of merchants 20 pr cent for cash for bill on home, which will be a great sacrifice.

Yours, my dear fellow
in great haste
Revere

To
Edward M.Kerne, Esq
Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 45)

Dear Kern:-

I feel for your situation- In pain, you, here we have been half drowned for the last few weeks impossible to stir out of the house on acct of mud & rain.

Please tell Capt Sutter that Olimpic did not know what to do with some money he sent & I told him to give it to Don Guadalupe who took it, I believe.

I want your man, sergeant I think he was, Sutters late majordomo- Smith to go on my land, & will give him part of it, perhaps a section if we can arrange.

I have seen a late Phil. paper of August or July. All right there, theatres, Concerts & every one amusing themselves, Ah! poor Californians that we are.

Yours &c.
Revere

To
E.M.Kern, Esq.
Com. Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 46)

Sonoma Oct. 24th 1846

My dear Kern:-

I received your note. The Gen. was much amused with the story of the namesake of Sutter.

So soon as I receive them, I will send you your things.

I have an account with Jim(Adolph Bruheim), as follows, which you must settle in your accounts.

Credit		Debit	
To Horse hire	$6.00	To 1 Mattress	$4.50
To Saddle gear	6.00	To Tobacco	.50
	$12.00		$5.00

Leaving $7.00 in his favor

My accounts have been passed up to the 4th Oct. & I am ordered to commence a new account, which is the reason I want you to put it in yours, particularly as you have this account.

Tell Capt Sutter that his account with me will be settled by the ship to which I have sent it to be included with his other accounts, & paid at same time.

The Emigrants are coming in & I am busy enlisting them. What says the Dutchman Kuntze ?

Yours in haste
Revere

To
E.M.Kern, Esq.
Commandant F.Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 47)

Sonoma Oct 29th 1846

My dear Kerne:-

I received your last. If the Dutchman wont come I spos I can get some one else & am casting about for that purpose, I would rather have him however.

I have concluded the Sale, purchase &c.&c.& am al(l) ready. I am much pressed for time, buying horses,&c. &c. for the campaign.

Tell Mr Burrass (Charles Burroughs?) that Mr Grigsby is going to take the Caballada and cross the Bay at Sausalito, with his men, If you have any men that want to enlist, or have arms or are ready to serve in any way send them along here to me. Hard times for the horses, poor animals, but the service is peremtory.

Best regards to Capt Sutter with request to look up a family that will suit me.

I am &c. Yours
Revere

To
E.M.Kerne, Comdt.
Fort Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 48)

'Portsmouth' Decr. 2d. 1846

My dear Kerne:-

We sail the first fair wind for sea, where we are going I dont know but suppose to San Diego.

I leave with the purser's steward of the Warren, your clothes. There has been no boat sent to the Sacramento since I have joined the ship. There are made up in a bundle 1 jacket, 1 trousers, 1 Blk. handkf.

I am sorry you could not get them before. I supposed they had been sent to you before I left Sonoma having authorized them to be sent & am ashamed they have not been. Let me know the first opportunity if you have received them.

We shall be back here in 4 or 5 months. Remembrances to Sutter, avec mes adieux.

Yours truly in haste
Revere.

To
Edward M.Kerne, Esq
Comg. Fort Sacramento
New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 49)

To E.M.Kerns:-

Your note informing us of the two horses left at Barkus (?) Ranch for the use of the mail came to hand this evening; we have also sent one for the same purpose with the U. States on.

There are a large Band of horses supposed to have been taken in the direction of Sacramento by a party of the country people (it is supposed they wish to take them on to the other side for what purpose it is not known) it would be well for you to keep a sharp lookout for them.

Lt Revere is out on Scouting excursion at present it is rumored that there are a company of Spaniards collected at Pint Ariaz (Point Reyes) between the coast and the Bay with a Quantity of horses for which purpose he has gone to see about.

Tho. Sears (*)
Lieut at Post of Sonoma

(*) (Sears' wife is credited with having furnished the flannel for the "Bear" Flag.)

To
Edward M.Kerns, Esq.
Fort Sacramento

The Fort Sutter Papers

Report of William Fallon

Signer of the

Bear Flag Proclamation

and Guide of General Kearny's Army

Giving the

Names of the American Settlers

Living on Bear Creek

Who Enlisted for Service in
Fremont's California Battalion
for the March on Los Angeles

Written by Fallon while on Bear Creek, whither
he had been sent to arouse the Settlers
and Addressed by Him to Kern
at Sutter's Fort

Bear Creek
October 20, 1846

Introduction to Volume XIV

FEW of the men of 1846 had such intimate relation with so many of its outstanding events as did the author of this document.

William O. Fallon (or O'Fallon), the Irish Trapper of California, was a huge bulk of a man, and by his colleagues of the hills he was called "Big" Fallon, or "Le Gros" Fallon. Another of his nicknames was "The Mountaineer."

Fallon is a mystery, save for the few months during which he stamped his personality and name on the record of those days. Previous to 1845 he was unknown, and, so far as is now discoverable, had never visited California. But in that year he suddenly appeared, coming from the southward, at once plunged into the thick of things, and demonstrated that somewhere he had become an adept in the arts of the wilderness and was the possessor of those qualities which fitted him for a place in the developing drama. In 1845 the Californians were in revolt against the Mexican General Micheltorena, and Fallon promptly took sides with them. The sympathies of John A. Sutter, on the other hand, were with the Mexican—from whom he had received a large land grant—and the founder of New Helvetia organized and led a group of foreigners and Indians in his behalf.

The principal military force brought together in opposition to the Mexican chieftain was a company of about forty or fifty mountaineers, of whom Bidwell in his manuscript narrative (p. 124) says that William Fallon was the commander. Sutter also credits "Le Gros" with leadership, for under date of July 31, 1845, he wrote of "O'Fallon who marched against us with his gang." In the campaign which followed Micheltorena capitulated, and soon afterward returned to Mexico.

After this experience Fallon came north to New Helvetia, and in so doing stepped into these pages, for it was he who, early in 1846, discovered Kern's division of Fremont's Exploring Expedition wandering aimlessly in the San Joaquin Valley and gave it the news of Fremont's whereabouts, which resulted in the junction of the two sections as elsewhere related. In that manner was his acquaintance with Kern begun.

Fallon was a member of the Bear Flag Party from its inception; was one of the men who captured Sonoma; and his was among the signatures appended to the Declaration of Independence and Articles of Capitulation drawn up and proclaimed on that occasion. He then joined Fremont's California Battalion, and was assigned to the Fort Sutter District with Kern as his commander.

About the time of Revere's appeal, "Call all Americans to Arms" (Vol. XIII, Manuscript Number 42), in which that officer transmitted to Kern the news of the blow to American arms at Los Angeles and the Mexican edict of extermination for all Americans, Fallon hastened to Bear Creek to warn emigrants arriving over the mountains of the imminent peril, and to enlist them in the common defense. Possibly Montgomery's letter of October 15th, in which he also conveyed news to Kern of the southern disaster and appealed to him for aid, was one of the causes of Fallon's activities (see Vol. XVIII, Manuscript Number 70).

The document which records his efforts, as well as the names of the men who came forward in this crisis, is preserved within these covers. It is the only view of this strange figure and of the part he played in that turbulent time which is vouchsafed us in the Fort Sutter Papers. All else that is known of him is contained in the two newspapers of that day.

In the *Star* appeared the diary of his experiences as Captain of the fourth relief expedition to the Donner Party (Vol. XXVI of this collection contains Kern's documents on that tragedy), which has come to be known as the Fallon Relief, and his narrative of the Donner catastrophe became the basis of the dreadful charges against Keseberg.

By that time California had become comparatively quiet, and Fallon could no longer find within its precincts a plenitude of those conditions that inspired him to action. So when General Kearny marched his army eastward Fallon went out into the mountains as the General's guide.

The *Californian* of September 2, 1848, printed a report that Fallon had started from Fort Hall on his way back to California, entirely alone, and that it was feared he had met death at the hands of the Indians. Such was the last record of him.

Thus he vanished even as he had first appeared—in mystery.

(Manuscript Number 50)

Bear Creek. Octr. 20/46

According to instructions I Send you all the Men I can Start this morning - being twenty two in number- I have sent a despatch to those who are not yet in to hurry them on - they are coming in slowly - I shall use every endeavor to make up the number which i think will detain me only a few days - I believe i shall be able to obtain a greater Number.

List of Names of those Sent on

John Minter	Thomason Slade
John Cross	Robt. Fannin
George Cross	Samuel Truit
William York	Anderson Farley
John F.Pile	Overton H.Foster
J.C.Furguson	C.D.Colwell
Louis Robueduex	William Edginton
James Kirkwood	Henry Leinhart
Thos.J.Smith	Valentine Diel
Thos.Manchester	Jacob Ripstein
David Williamson	George ~~Cnis~~ or Cins

(Written on back in pencil)

Alford Musgrave
Isaac Smith
Robert Lionnies

These Men....com in since the.....started.

Yours
Wm. Fallon.

P.S. You will please let me know what is goin on every opportunity.

To
Capt E.M.Kern
Fort Sacramento.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Original Manuscript

of

Edwin Bryant's Proposal

to

Raise a Force of Volunteers

in the

Effort to Recapture Los Angeles

and

Reinforce Fremont

Written at Fort Sacramento on the Night of October 28, 1846, after a Discussion of the Situation by American Settlers and Emigrants there assembled, signed by Bryant, Benjamin Lippincott, A. I. Grayson, Richard Jacob and James F. Reed

and

Presented to Kern for his approval

Fort Sacramento

October 28, 1846

Introduction to Volume XV

CONFIRMATION of Revere's news (Vol. XIII, Manuscript Number 42) of the disaster in the south reached Sutter's Fort on the night of October 28th. A courier sent from Monterey by Fremont arrived with intelligence that a large force of Californians (varying, according to different reports, from five to fifteen hundred in number) had met the marines and sailors under command of Captain Mervine of the *Savannah,* who had landed at San Pedro for the purpose of marching to Los Angeles, and had driven Mervine's troops (some four hundred strong) back to the ship. The dispatches also said the towns of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara had been taken by the insurgents; that the American garrisons there had either been captured or had made their escape by retreating; and that Fremont's purpose was to increase his force and march against Los Angeles.

At the Fort when the grave news came were several travelers but recently arrived in the country. One of these was Edwin Bryant. He had left Louisville on April 18th with two companions, R. T. Jacob and R. Ewing, for an overland journey to California. Early in September he reached Sutter's Fort, where he remained during the Walla Walla Indian alarm, having volunteered his services in defense of the Fort against the threatened attack. From thence he made his way to San Francisco, and there on October 12th he sought to enlist in the expedition then fitting out for Los Angeles. But Stockton, thinking a larger force unnecessary, declined his offer. Bryant then went to Sonoma, where on the 17th he learned from Revere the tidings (which had just reached that officer) of the disaster in the south and the urgency of the situation. He returned immediately to San Francisco, arriving there on the following day, and from thence pushed northward to Sutter's Fort, which he reached on the 26th, two days before Fremont's messenger came with more detailed news of the American reverses.

Still another in the group at the Fort on the night of October 28th, was one who had arrived a few hours before, exhausted by hunger and fatigue after having crossed the Sierras on foot and alone, and who had been for the last several days entirely without food. That man was James F. Reed of the Donner Party. (Vol. XXVI, Introduction.)

Reed had in self-defense killed another member of the Donner Party during a quarrel, and for that act had been expelled from the wagon train. Thus forced to leave his wife and children with the main emigration, which was even then running short of provisions, he pressed swiftly forward in the hope of procuring and sending back such necessities as would ensure its safe arrival in the Sacramento Valley.

When news of the defeat reached the little company whose members had been brought together under such widely different circumstances, a discussion of the situation took place, and at its conclusion Bryant sat down and wrote the document embodied in this volume. In it they offered their exertions in raising a body of emigrants and Indians to reinforce Fremont, and their own services as volunteers. Then they signed the paper.

Bryant, in his book (What I Saw in California; N. Y., 1848, p. 347), describes the circumstances leading to the creation of this memorial, and also explains its purpose, but—seemingly having retained no copy—he there gives only a summary of its contents. McGlashan (see History of the Donner Party; Truckee, 1879, p. 100) gives Reed's own account of his participation in the conference, but McGlashan was likewise unable to quote the text. It has never before been known or printed.

The signature of James F. Reed is the last on the document. Though that same day had witnessed his escape from death by starvation and exhaustion, and although his wife and children were still facing the perils from which he had just been delivered, he put aside his own condition and his family's situation and gave first consideration to his country's need.

Bryant's Proposal was submitted to Kern for his approval. He, of course, gave it his endorsement, and the signers of the paper at once began work under its provisions. The remaining documents of the volume disclose their activities, as Kern's agents, in equipping the new recruits.

(Manuscript Number 51)

We the undersigned offer to the Commandant of Fort Sacramento the following propositions, for raising volunteers.

1st We will seperate and ride in different directions, where emigrants are located, and engage them as volunteers, to be organized at the place of rendevous into one or more companies, the said companies to be officered from ~~their-own-body~~ undersigned and others.

2nd We are authorized to take all horses needed for said company, to be appraised and giving receipt for same.

3rd Such emigrants as have families, and will volunteer, their families are to be furnished with flour and meat by the government, to be deducted from the pay of such volunteers. The families, if they desire it, are to be quartered at Fort Sacramento, during the period of enlistment.

4th We are to be authorized to raise as many Indians, as we may deem safe to accompany us, the command of whom is to be given to some suitable person.

5th The white volunteers to receive the same pay as those heretofore enlisted, viz Twenty five Dollars per month - with horse, saddle and bridle.

6th Those who have amunition, saddle and bridle will use the same at expense of government.

Edwin Bryant
Benj.S.Lippincott
A.I.Grayson
Richard T.Jacob
James F.Reed

To Kerns,Esq.
Commandant at Fort Sacramento
Fort Sacramento, October 28th,1846.

(Manuscript Number 52)

November 5th 1846 the following horses were appraised and taken into the Service of the United States as the property of T.Cordway (Cordua) Esq.

1 Claybank horse. Valued by Capt Jacob & I.Smith at	$25.00	Twenty five Dollars
1 black horse	25.00	Twenty five Dollars
1 " "	25.00	Twenty five Dollars
1 Cream co - horse	25.00	Twenty five Dollars
	100.00	

by order E.M.Kern, Esq. Commandant at Fort Sacramento.

Richard T.Jacob
James F.Reed
Agents.

(Manuscript Number 53)

Novr 5th 1846, the following Horses were appraised and taken into the Service of the United States as the property of Charles Ruder, Esq.

1 daple Gray	Valued by Cap Jacob & J.Smith	
at	$40.00	forty Dollars
One Gray Horse	40.00	forty Dollars
One Roan Mare	25.00	Twenty five D.
	$105.00	

by authority of E.M.Kern Commandant at Fort Sacramento.

Richard T.Jacob
James F.Reed
agents

Received Nov. 5th 1846 Three horses from Fort Sacramento for the transportation of U.S.Volunteers to the "Pueblo de San Juan".

James F.Reed

Fort Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 54)

Nov 5th 1846

United States
To John Smith Dr

To 1 Cream Col Horse	$30.00
" 1 Bright Sorrel	30.00
" 1 Grey	30.00
" 1 Sorrel	

Nov 5th 1846

United States
To John Smith Dr

To 1 Bright Sorrel Horse	$30.00
To 1 Dapple Gray	30.00
To 1 Sorrel	30.00
To 1 Mouse Col	35.00

The Fort Sutter Papers

Letters from the *Portsmouth*

Written to Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort

By

Doctor Henderson, McKington, and Watmough

Regarding

Supplies for the Garrison

The Latest News Received from Mexico

and Enclosing Enough Cotton
Cloth to Make

28 Stars for the Fort's New Flag

U.S.S. *Portsmouth* : Yerba Buena
July–December : 1846

Introduction to Volume XVI

DOCTOR ANDREW J. HENDERSON, who was one of the surgeons attached to Montgomery's Squadron, was—like other naval officers—frequently sent on missions to the interior by the naval chief of the Northern District. His acquaintance with Kern dated from June 26th, when he arrived at Sutter's Fort in company with Lieutenant Revere. Kern at that precise time, as has been seen, was in charge of the Fort only by Fremont's action (Vol. VI, Introduction), and his position was a somewhat anomalous one. He was recognized and addressed as "Commander of the Fort" by Montgomery and other officers of the regular naval establishment, yet the recognition thus far tendered to him seems to have had its origin solely in the compelling force of acknowledged and accomplished deeds.

Doctor Henderson was probably sent to Sutter's Fort to attend to health conditions among the garrison there (see f. i., Vol. XVIII, Manuscript Number 62) and minister to the medical needs of Kern's prisoners, the Sonoma Captives. He returned to his ship soon afterwards, and on July 26th wrote the letter herein contained. With it he sent some medicine for Kern and cautioned him regarding his health and diet.

The whole fabric of the letter is one of cordiality, and its tone, gossip, and news are indicative of the relationship established between two men whose attitude toward one another is based on a mutual appreciation of sterling qualities. In that respect it, together with so many other of the manuscripts embraced in these records, is a significant testimony regarding the character of the man to whom it and they were addressed.

The postscript to Surgeon Henderson's letter is a most interesting historical note. In it he speaks of sending, with the message, some cotton (cloth) from which Kern could make up twenty-eight stars for the new flag that floated above his fort. In this connection see also Bartlett's letter. (Vol. VIII, Manuscript Number 25, postscript.)

James H. Watmough, who wrote two of the letters here preserved, was Purser of the *Portsmouth,* and played a prominent part in the events of 1846. He was also one of the first of the naval men to meet Kern.

When Fremont, after being overtaken by Gillespie (Vol. III, Introduction), returned south to the Sacramento Valley, he sent Gillespie to Montgomery at Yerba Buena, and from that naval commander Gillespie obtained a boatload of supplies and stores. That was on June 7th. He and the boat reached Sutter's Fort on the 12th and united with Fremont on the following day, deliver-

ing the supplies. Watmough accompanied Gillespie from Yerba Buena, and it was on that occasion, no doubt, that Kern and Watmough first met. Fremont, in the guise of an explorer, drew freely from Montgomery's ship, and it was Watmough (because of his official position) who attended to such transactions.

These letters from Watmough relate to materials which Kern had asked the navy to send to him. The first of them is dated on August 23d. Three days later (on August 26th) Watmough was appointed temporary Commander at Santa Clara, where, at the head of a scanty force of forty men, he conducted a successful campaign against the hostile Indians in the San Jose region, killing a number of them and recovering a quantity of horses they had stolen from the American settlers. After that exploit of naval versatility he returned to his ship, resumed his more prosaic duties as purser, and again took up his correspondence with Kern and other of the land officers who had need of shirts, trousers, blankets, coffee, and tobacco.

The final letter here embraced is a similar one, likewise dealing with clothing requisitioned by Kern for his soldiers. It is dated from the *Portsmouth* on December 1st, and signed by John B. McKington, who it seems probable was temporarily acting for Watmough, and who heretofore has been an unknown personality among the elaborate lists of those participating in any capacity in the events of the conquest.

(Manuscript Number 55)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth July 26th '46

My Dear Sir:-

I send you some Dovers powder, which I think will arrest your disease - take one in little water- say morning and evening or oftener if you find it necessary- 20 or 30 drops of Laudanum or a grain of Opium- which you have with you would also relieve you in a similar ermergency. You must look to your diet - avoid corn bread, beans &c.

By the latest news your Capt. was encamped in Monterey - and the old Commodore was about to leave for the U.S. We have no news from Mexico since the flag has been hoisted. There are reports about the capture of St.Juan de Ulloa but we think them unfounded. Please present my respects to Capt. Sutter. I suppose you are in love with a garrison life by this time.

Yours truly
A.A.Henderson.

(written on back in pencil)

There is spare cotton put in to make up 28 stars for the flag.

A.A.H

To
E.M.Kern
Commanding at Fort Sutter.

(Manuscript Number 56)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
August 23rd 1846

Sir:-

I enclose you the Requisition for Provisions and Small stores, delivered to you by Lieut Missroon on the 8th inst, also the Requisition and invoice in Triplicate of the Clothing and small stores sent you by this boat, which you will be pleased to sign, and return to Capt Montgomery for his approval, the list which is labelled "Clothes requisition of the Men at Fort Sacramento" you can retain as it will enable you to issue the articles required by the men whose names are on that list.

Very respectfully
Your Obt Servt
James H.Watmough
Per Jno.B.Turkington

To
Edward M.Kerns Esq.

(Manuscript Number 57)

Sloop Portsmouth
Oct 16th 1846

Sir:-

I send you by this Opportunity, seven pairs of Duck Trowsers, in place of the seven pr you returned. Be pleased to acknowledge the receipt of them to Capt Montgomery.

Yours Respectfully
J.H.Watmough
Per Jno. B. Turkington

To
E.M.Kerns, Esq
Comdg. F.Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 58)

Sloop Portsmouth
Dec 1st 1846

Dear Sir:-

Mr Jones, the Pursers clerk of the Warren will send you the Jacket, Trowsers and Handkerchief, that you contracted for with Mr Revere, I have put them up in a bundle and sent them to Mr Jones to be sent to you the first opportunity.

No boats from the Portsmouth to the Sacramento, has been the cause of your not receiving them at an earlier period.

We are all ready to sail, I will write to you again the first opportunity; I have so much to attend to about these California affairs, that I frequently forget my promises to friends, but you must excuse me as you was witness to some of my troubles yourself while I was at Sacramento. I hope you are well, I am so myself. Adios till I can communicate with you again.

Truly Yours
Jno. B.McKingtor

To
E.M.Kern, Esq.
Commanding Fort Sacramento
New Helvetia.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Lieutenant Maury's Letter

giving

News of the Capture of Monterey

and the

Approach of Reinforcements

Coming to Join the Americans in California

written by him while

Commanding at Sonoma

to

Kern at Fort Sacramento

Sonoma

December 9, 1846

Introduction to Volume XVII

WILLIAM L. MAURY, the writer of the letter herein contained, was lieutenant on the *Warren,* then stationed at San Francisco. He first came to California as a member of Wilkes' long and elaborate expedition of 1838–42, during which he served as an officer on the Commodore's flagship, and in company with other officers and scientists of that large party visited California in 1841.

This letter was written on December 9th, 1846, from Sonoma, where he had replaced Revere as commander, Revere having returned to the *Portsmouth* in preparation for his departure southward. (Vol. XIII, Manuscript Number 48.)

Maury relates that Hull has superseded Montgomery as Commander-in-Chief of the Northern District. In this connection reference should be made to Pickett's Letters (Vol. XXV, Manuscripts Numbers 101 and 102) wherein Pickett denounces and criticizes Hull and his régime unsparingly.

Maury also discusses the unaccountable absence of the *Warren's* launch, and asks Kern if he has heard anything of the missing boat. (See Vol. XVIII, Introduction, and Manuscript Number 74, for further particulars concerning this tragedy in which two of Commander Montgomery's sons were lost.)

Announcement is then made that news has been received of the capture of Monterey by General Taylor; that four ships are on their way to California bearing a thousand additional troops (a detailed manuscript narrative of the voyage of one of these vessels, the *Susan Drew,* was written by Lieutenant J. McHenry Hollingsworth of the New York Volunteers); that a part of General Kearny's army is daily expected to arrive from New Mexico; and, finally, that material reinforcements for the navy are also on the way.

All these tidings of new power being added to the national endeavor must have been heartening news to Kern and his little band at the Fort. At last, and well within sight, was victory.

(Manuscript Number 59)

Sonoma Decr. 9th 1846

Sir:-

I received the communication from the Sacramento to Comdr. Montgomery this morning & have dispatched it to Yerba Buena. Comdr. J.B.Hull has relieved Commander Montgomery in the command of this district.

The "Warren's" Launch left Yerba Buena for the Sacramento about twenty five days ago, since which we have had no tidings of her, & feel some apprehension for her safety - if you have seen or heard any thing of her I will thank you to let me hear from you by the first opportunity.

We are quiet in this vicinity. It is rumored that since Col Fremont has made a move from Monterey the Californians are threatening that place & the Upper Pueblo.

By an arrival from Maxatlan we learn that Genl. Taylor after a three days siege, stormed Monterey & carried it with a loss of 1500 men Loss on the side of the enemy 5000. 6000 on our side & 18000 on that of the Mexicans engaged. Four Ships sailed from N.York in August with about a thousand Troops on board for this place. A portion of Col. Kerneys command is expected daily from New Mexico & a considerable addition to our Naval force is on the way.

I have the honour
to be your obt Servt
Wm. L. Maury
Comdg at Sonoma.

To
Lieut E.M.Kern
Sacramento.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Original Manuscripts

of

Commander Montgomery's Letters and Orders

to

Lieutenant Kern at Fort Sacramento

During his

Administration of Northern California

Constituting

A Record of His Plans and Activities During
The Conquest Achieved by the Bear
Flag Party and the Organized
Military and Naval Forces
of the United States

Yerba Buena
July to December, 1846

Introduction to Volume XVIII

THE series of documents in this volume of the Fort Sutter Papers constitutes a body of historical material too extensive and important for adequate analysis and review in any introduction such as this must necessarily be. They are the official letters and orders sent to Lieutenant Kern at Sacramento by Commander Montgomery from the *Portsmouth* during the period between July 18th, 1846, and December 3d of the same year, when he relinquished the command to Hull, and relate either directly or indirectly to practically every condition and personality involved in the progress of events, from the first outburst of the Bear Flag insurrection to the completion of the Conquest.

Commodore John B. Montgomery commanded the Sloop-of-War *Portsmouth* of the Pacific Squadron from 1845 to 1848. During the activities of the *Portsmouth* in the Mexican War the Commodore took possession of and administered Yerba Buena, Sonoma, Bodega, and Sausalito in 1846, and under Shubrick he blockaded Mazatlan in 1847. During October of 1847 Montgomery captured Guaymas, on the Gulf of California. Throughout all these operations his work (as well as that of the officers under him) was prompt and well timed, and his methods of administration, both afloat and ashore, were careful, able, and efficient. He became a Rear Admiral in 1866, and died at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1873. His relation to the events with which these documents deal has been perpetuated by the bestowal of his vessel's name on one of San Francisco's public squares, and of his own name on one of the great thoroughfares of the city which has arisen on the shores that were commanded by his guns at the time these letters were written.

Montgomery's voluminous letters to Kern concern the early relations existing between Fremont and his party on the one hand and the Naval Commanders on the other; relate to the efforts to communicate with the Government at Washington; to Kern's first and peculiar position at Sutter's Fort; to the imprisonment of the Captives of Sonoma, their release, Fremont's attitude toward them, and Kern's connection with that affair; to the situation at San Jose; to Revere and conditions at Sonoma; to the movements and possible purposes of the enemy; to the arrival of the Oregon emigrants; to the garrison at Sutter's Fort; to Kern's duties, rank, and responsibilities there; to the naval supplies required by and furnished to garrisons on shore; to Commodore Stockton's arrival, movements in the South, and taking of Los Angeles; to General Castro's whereabouts; to Kern's government of the Mexicans in the region commanded by him; to the treatment accorded the Indians; to Sutter's position as Magistrate for the District; to the raising of the flag throughout the whole territory; to the expected attack by Yellow Serpent and his Walla Walla Indians; to the expectations of Montgomery in case the Fort was attacked;

to the need of establishing communication with Missroon and Revere; to drill and the general military administration at the Fort; to Fremont's position and authority over the garrison after he had been appointed Military Commander; to the organization of a courier service for the safe and prompt transmission of intelligence between separated posts; to the maintenance of a scouting system; to regulations prescribed for the native Mexican inhabitants; to the dispatch of reinforcements for the relief of Gillespie in the South; to the siege of Los Angeles and the threat against Monterey; to the danger at San Francisco and the impossibility of weakening the forces there; to help and advice that must be given to newly arriving American settlers; to preparations for the defence of Yerba Buena; to interruption of communication by hostile natives; to the situation on the Sonoma side of the Sacramento; to the desertions from merchant ships, and methods of their prevention if possible; to Kern's praiseworthy success in securing new recruits for Fremont and the Southern expedition; to the difficulty experienced by the navy in arming and clothing newly enlisted volunteers; and, finally, to Captain Hull's accession to naval command in the North.

Collectively, therefore, it may be said that these papers (particularly when considered in conjunction with related documents in preceding and subsequent volumes) afford the only known and connected existing record, as set down contemporaneously by the men involved, of the conditions that prevailed and the events that took place at Sutter's Fort and in the Sacramento region during the decisive days of 1846. These manuscripts were essential if a detailed and accurate knowledge of such matters was to be attained, and their unknown whereabouts up to this time has been the cause of that historical verdict which, in substance, has been embodied in the expression: "But little is known of the events during Kern's administration."

Montgomery, as Commander of the Northern District, was Lieutenant Kern's superior officer, and it is therefore in these letters that we are to find the foundation on which to build our future appreciation of Fort Sutter's part in the events of 1846. In such a task we shall, of necessity, be largely aided by many others of these manuscripts. All are essential, but for the attitude which may be termed our official viewpoint we must have first recourse to the documents which emanated from the *Portsmouth* and often ultimately reached the Fort, no doubt, through the efforts and solitary rides of Bruheim.

The importance of Fort Sutter and Montgomery's keen appreciation of its value and strategic position are shown by the frequency and elaborateness with which he kept in touch with its commander, and by the care he showed in informing Kern of all outside matters relating to the progress of military and civil affairs.

Another exceedingly interesting feature of Montgomery's letters is the fact that they were dated on the *Portsmouth,* and from July 18th to October 15th they were also dated "Yerba Buena." (See Manuscripts Number 60 to 70.) But the letter of October 21st, which is Manuscript Number 71, is dated "U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* San Francisco." Thus we possess—within a period narrowed

to six days—the date on which "Yerba Buena" disappeared from customary use in official Governmental papers and was supplanted by the present name, although it was not until Alcalde Bartlett's proclamation of January 23d, 1847, that legal sanction was given to the change.

The final manuscript here preserved discusses the unknown fate of the *Warren's* missing launch, which Montgomery had sent to Kern late in November with the pay money due to the garrison at New Helvetia. It contains an element of tragedy even deeper than that appearing on the surface of the letter, for among the twelve men who constituted the crew of the boat were the Commodore's two sons, William H. Montgomery, Acting Master of the *Warren,* and John, his father's secretary. But the Commodore does not allude to them. He prays that all may have been saved. And thus, with the fate of his boys in doubt (neither they nor any of the others were ever found), Montgomery suppressed his own feelings as a man, and, in stoic silence, proceeded to announce to Kern the transfer of his authority to Hull and his own impending departure.

(Manuscript Number 60)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena July 18th 1846

Sir:-

Should the package addressed to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy forwarded by Lt Bartlett of the Portsmouth to Capt Fremont & left with you, be still in your possession, I will thank you to return it to me by the bearer, the arrival of the Commander in Chief on the coast having removed the necessity of sending it to the United States.

I am Sir very Respy
Your Obt Servt
Jno. B.Montgomery
Commanding U.S.Ship
Portsmouth.

To
Mr Kerns
Commanding the Fort at
New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 61)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerbabuena, July 27th 1846

Sir:-

I received your note, with my package directed to the Honbl. Secretary of the Navy, which you were so kind as to return to me yesterday by Mr Murphy for which be pleased to accept my thanks.

With regard to the men now on their way from Oregon to the Fort, I am possessed of no information or instructions, which would authorize my directing the disposition to (be) made of them. I have however, by Courier this morning, submitted the subject to the consideration of the Commander in Chief at Monterey, who I doubt not will give it his early attention.

I am Sir Yours Respectfully
Obet Sevt
Jno.B.Montgomery
Commander

To
Mr Edwd. M.Kern
Commanding Sutter's Fort
New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 62)

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Yerbabuena San Francisco Augt. 10th 1846

Sir:-

Yesterday I received your note of the 3rd inst. by Mr Pickett informing me of the liberation of General Vallejo & - (J) Carrillo, of whose safe and timely return to Sonoma I am notified by Lieut. Revere.

I am told that the launch which conveyed Lieut Missroon from here on his way to New Helvetia on the 3rd inst was seen near the entrance of the Sacramento on the morning of the 7th; from which I infer, that they must have accidently deviated from their proper course at the junction of the rivers, which I much regret, on account of the prolonged confinement of your prisoners; for whose liberation, Lieut Misroon was charged with a commission to you. I trust however, before this they have been set at liberty.

I am sorry to hear sir of the prevalence of disease in your garrison; and have this day written to Lieut Revere to direct Surgeon Henderson of the Portsmouth now at Sonoma to proceed forwith to Fort Sacramento and administer to the relief of the sick.

If Lt Missroon should be with you on receiving this, I will thank you to say to him that 12 or 15 mounted men with their equipments are greatly needed at the Pueblo of San Jose, and if that number can be obtained to send them direct to the Fort to that port, with orders to report to Purser James H. Watmough the Commanding officer there.

I have fully instructed Lieut Revere respecting the unsettled state of feeling and suspicious movements in the North - and have no doubt, with vigilance and suitable effort, that quietude will soon be established.

I am Sir Very Respectfully
Your obt Servt
Jno. B.Montgomery
Commanding Forces of the
U.States at San Fran.
&c. &c. &c.

To
Edwd. M.Kerns, Esqr.
Commanding at Fort Sacramento
New Helvetia.

Augt 11th

N.B. Since writing, I have received intelligence of the arrival of a party from Oregon, via Fort Sacramento, at San Jose much worn out & diseased; a few days of our bracing climate I hope may restore them again to comparative health and Mr Watmough writes me, that such as are fit for service will engage with him.

Respy
J.B.Montgomery
Commander.

(Manuscript Number 63)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena Augst 26th 1846

Sir:-

Your communication of the 18th inst, has been received, and I am glad to find, that you have completed the enlistment of the required number of Men at Fort Sacramento, and have made such disposition of them, as to secure you from surprise, or sudden attack.

The accompanying invoices, and requisitions for provisions, and small stores left with you by Lieut Missroon, and those in triplicate for articles now sent, you will please sign, and return to me by the next mail, to serve as vouchers for the Purser of the Portsmouth. In compliance with your requisition, I forward you such articles of clothing as we have on board (as per invoices) with 1000 Per. Caps, 200 Musket Flints, 1 Keg (25 lbs) Rifle Powder, 1/3 Ream of Writing paper, and Two Bottles of Ink. A Drum, and Blankets we have not.

In reply to your several inquiries Sir, I have to state, that Mr Sutter's pay as a Lieut. is, 33$ Per Month and he is allowed four rations daily at 20 cents each - three of which are commuted for in money, and one is issued in kind - therefore a Lieutenant is to receive as his entire compensation according to the arrangement of Lieut Missroon - Fifty dollars per month - and one ration in kind.

The duty of a Lieutenant is to execute such duty as shall be assigned him by the Commander of the Post, and as the title implies, is to take the place of the Captain, in his temporary absence - to attend to drilling and exercising the Soldiers &c.

The Government does not contemplate the issue of clothing to officers, but under present circumstances your Lieut might draw 10 or 15 dollars worth of such clothing as we may have on hand, each month without objection. But all issues of clothing should be brought within the smallest possible quantity required, as the government has only calculated the

amount necessary for the supply of the present squadron of Ships on this station.

Corporals and Sergeants superintend the general duties of the Soldiers, attend to drilling them in squads - relieving guard &c. One of these is to be on duty and always within hail (night & day) of the Sentinels on post, to whom the Sentinels refer all persons who have not the countersign, or pass word for admission into the Post, or for any information which may be required. It is their especial duty to arrange the tours of duty of Sentinels &c.

The 1st Sergeant receives more pay than the 2nd Sergeant, because of his being required to attend to the issue of the rations &c in addition to his other duties.

These Non-Commissioned Officers as they are termed, never keep Sentinel duty, but are Superintendents of the duties of the Soldiers.

I will thank you to make all requisitions for clothing &c in the following form - on the 1st of each month. "There is required for the following men composing the Troops stationed at Fort Sacramento - the following Articles."

The clothing for no man should exceed the allowance of $4 and 1/2 monthly, and even that should be circumscribed as much as possible for the present - and until our stock shall be increased.

We have news from Santa Barbara to the 13th, that Commodore Stockton was in possession of the Pueblo les Angeles. We hear nothing of Castro whether taken or not.

I am Sir
Your ob Sevt
J.B.Montgomery
Commanding at San Francisco
&c. &c. &c.

To Edw.M.Kerns, Esq.
Commanding at
Fort Sacramento

(Manuscript Number 64)

Yerbabuena Sept 1st 1846

Sir:-

I have received your letter of the 25th inst. and have instructed Lieut Revere at Sonoma concerning the passage of Spaniards & horses across the strates, with a view to have the privilege so governed & restricted as to prevent unpleasant consequences resulting therefrom.

I have directed the flints to (be) forwarded, and the lead if it can be procured.

I have directed Lt. Bartlett to forward you a document relating to the future government and treatment of the Indians, which I desire to be strictly carried out until otherwise directed, the subject belongs to Mr Sutter's department as Magistrate of your district.

As I expect Commodore Stockton from below dayly, if you have not forwarded the express to Oregon, you need not proceed further in the matter- the delay having exceeded my expectations. I should have been glad to have had it forwarded several weeks back.

The Commodore writes from Los Angeles on the 14th inst- that the flag was then flying over every prominent place in the Territory.

I am Sir, Your Obt Svt
J.B.Montgomery
Commanding San Francisco
&c. &c.

To
Edwd. M.Kerns Esq
Commdg Fort Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 65)

Yerba Buena
Sept 10th 1846

Sir:-

I have received your dispatch of the 8th inst - and immediately sent orders to San Jose, & Sonoma for the Forces to move to your assistance at the Fort and have dispatched an express to Monterey for a reinforcement of Major Fremont's men now there to be forwarded as soon as possible. The amount of force directed to move at once about 100 mounted men- but advancing from opposite directions. Should you be invested by the hostile Indians before they reach, it will be impossible for them to advance to the Fort until reinforced which will I trust be very soon, Therefore hold out as you certainly have the means of maintaining yourself against an Indian force, as long as your provisions last. Lt Missroon I have sent to Sonoma to direct operations and communicate with me. Be pleased to inform him fully respecting the state of things immediately on receiving this if you can. In the meantime be prudent and watchful.

I am Sir your obdt Servt
Jno. B.Montgomery
Commandg San Francisco
&c. &c. &c.

To
Edwd. M.Kerns, Esq
Fort Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 66)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba buena Septr 19,1846

Sir:-

I have received your letters of the 8th & 10th insts. with the accompanying pay roll, requisitions, accts. &c. &c.

The various bills of expense included for Oregon Express I have had placed in proper form and return herewith for your signature in triplicate which I will thank you to return to me with the original bills, with receipts annexed of such as may have been paid. As the express was not forwarded I presume the horses are retained and turned over to the Military Service at your post with the United States mark upon them, this you will please to state in your letter accompanying the returned documents, as it must appear on the document itself.

The only objection I have to the change of men in your garrison is the embarresment it may produce in the arrangement of their accounts. Had you someone accustomed to this duty there could be no difficulty about it. Your Indians who are receiving pay as Soldiers of the garrison can receive a ration as others in the Service.

You were right Sir, in giving me prompt notice of the approach of the Indians which enabled me to direct the advance of troops to your aid at once; Those from Sonoma & Monterey will certainly have reached you before this is received, those from San Jose have returned from an Expedition against the country Indians with their Caballada worn out & unable to carry them to the Fort, but if necessary I will send them by water.

I have just recd letters from Lieuts Missroon & Revere which require to be answered I must therefore close. You will much oblige me sir, by returning as soon as you can the written documents with your signature to the annexed certificate & original bills as requested.

I am Sir Your Obt Servt
Jno.B.Montgomery
Commanding U.S.Naval &
Military Forces, Northern
District
U.California.

To
Edw. M.Kerns Esq
Commanding at Fort
Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 67)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena Sept 29th 1846

Sir:-

I received last evening a letter from Lt. Revere informing me of the accession of thirty Indians to your garrison at a compensation (of) six dollars & a ration per month to be paid in clothing.

The necessity there exists for an immediate closeing of all accounts between the U.S.Ship Portsmouth & the shore stations under my command- necessarily prevents my supplying the clothing required for them. And unless Major Fremont on his arrival, desires to retain them in Service- you may discharge them including their names on the list of your garrison - which I desire you to furnish me immediately - with a statement of pay & rations - term of service for which engaged, Articles and amt. of issues in clothing, tobacco, &c.&c. Also a triplicate statement - of bills- contracted to be paid (not original bills) but your own statement with a certificate at the foot- that the bills were unavoidably - or necessarily contracted for the benefit of the Public services - Fort Sacramento - which please sign as the Commander of the Post.

The horses transferred from the Oregon Express service are all that have been purchased for which bills are already in my possession - a receipt for them will be required on turning over the Fort to another Command.

If you can return your papers by the bearer it will expedite my movements very much.

The Commander arrived here on Saturday - and expects a visit from the Walla Walla Chief - to whom he will render full justice.

You will please extend to his company encamped in your vicinity all needful protection, and do whatever you can to impress them with a sense of our kind and friendly disposition toward them. You will include the mail expenses between the Fort & Sonoma in your schedule of expenses to be paid.

I am Sir, your Oby Servt
Jno. B.Montgomery
Commander Northern Dist
California

To
Edw. M.Kerns Esq
Commanding Fort
Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 68)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerbabuena Octo. 7th 1846

Sir:-

I am greatly in want of the accounts forwarded for your signature a few days since. Unless they are received before the Commander sails from this port- there may be some difficulty in the settlement of them.

Be pleased to attend to this immediately include your mail bill as before requested.

I am Sir, Your Obt Servt
Jno.B.Montgomery
Commdg &c. &c.

To
Edw. M.Kerns, Esq
Commanding Fort Sacramento
New Helvetia

(Manuscript Number 69)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerbabuenna Octo. 13th 1846

Sir:-

Your certified bills received several days since will have to be returned to you again and others certified to in their places - in consequence of the introduction of the names of individual creditors with their respective accounts- which under existing circumstances should be avoided in order to prevent any unnecessary and troublesome accumulation of papers as for every name - an original bill & receipt would become indispensible.

It is therefore expedient for the bills to be made out in the name of one person (as in the Captain's) whose receipt for the aggregate amount- will suffice. I have therefore caused the account to be made out again- and will retain it until I hear whether you have any other bills to be added, concerning which I will thank you to inform me immediately, as when this is is done, after the arrival of the Warren, I intend sending an officer - or some suitable person to the Fort with all the accts - & payroll in order to effect a full settlement before transferring my command to another.

I have recalled Lt.Revere from Sonoma, who is directed to leave a Sergeant and ten men in charge of that post - who will forward your despatches to me by the usual means. I wish you therefore to continue the mail communications between the Fort and Sonoma- with a view to the speedy and sure transmission of intelligence - and as the recent movement in the South, may tent to produce a kindred spirit in the North - the utmost vigilance must be maintained -any by means of faithful scouts the eariliest informations of suspicious conduct on the part of Californians be secured & transmitted to me.

The Commodore's order prohibiting the use and carrying of arms by the people of the country must be enforced - and all arms found in their possession be taken charge of, and a receipt given to their owners - who will receive them again when the peace and quietude of the country shall have been established.

The Commodore sails this day with Major Fremont & his company of Volunteers for the Southern Coast.

In haste, I am Sir, Your Obt Servt.
Jno. B.Montgomery
Comdg. Northern Dist U.Cal.

To
Edw. M.Kerns, Esq
Commanding Fort Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 70)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena Oct 15th 1846

Sir:-

The Commodore with two hundred Volunteers under Major Freemont went to Sea yesterday morning, and I have this moment received by water from Monterey, intelligence of a general rising of Calirofnians in the South, their forces now collected around the Angelos numbering it is said more than four hundred, while active preparations are making for a general movement in the middle and northern Departments.

My letters inform me that Monterey is threatened with an immediate attack, and I am called upon for assistance which it is not in my power to give them, without leaving this Department to the mercy of the enemy, should any appear in my absence. The call for vigorous action on our part is most urgent, and the enemy, having proclaimed the intention of massacreing every American in California, self preservation demands that all should promptly step forward to the defense of the country at this crisis.

I wish you Sir to make your own position secure, and to keep well on your guard against surprise, at night especially, as it is doubtful whether an attack would be attempted in the day light. Provision should be secured within the Fort immediately, sufficient for one or two months, and your garrison daily trained to vigilance and military exercises.

I beg you Sir to urge upon the new emigration as they arrive, the necessity for their immediate advance to this place by water, for which purpose you shall have the assistance of one or two of my boats, and you are authorized to employ, or press into the service, any others within your reach; as I desire at the earliest possible moment to concentrate a large force at the Pueblo of San Jose. If there are any with good horses, they can proceed to that point by land in large parties, as individuals and small companies might be cut off or intercepted. If it is in your power, you will send off expresses to hasten the advance of approaching Emigrants, and to call into the service all resident Americans immediately. The boat which conveys this, will down as many of the emigrants with their arms, as are probably now at the Fort.

I feel with my Ships company perfectly competent to the defense of this Post, against any Force of Californians that can be brought against us.

In great haste, I am Sir, Your Ob.Svt.
Jno. B.Montgomery
Commdg.N.District.Calif.&c.

To
Edw. M.Kern Esq
Commdg Fort Sacramento

(Manuscript Number 71)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
San Francisco Oct 21st 1846

Sir:-

Your letter of the 11th inst I received last night.

I despatched one of my boats to the Fort several days since with the intelligence of the unfavorable aspect of things in the vicinity of Monterey & the probability of a rising of Californians against us in this district, and directing you to enlist such of the emigrants as might be willing to engage for three or six months, and forward them to this place or to San Jose. Since then no intelligence has been received from beyond the Pueblo, which leads to the inference that all passes between that point and Monterey are watched, and communications intercepted by the Natives. This state of uncertainty however cannot long continue.

We are safe enough at this place- and I think also at the Pueblo, to which place I design sending the men arriveing from above. The Sonoma side of the Sacramento I have no fear of, the people exhibiting a favorable disposition & contentment with the present state of things.

Although I much doubt whether any attempts will be made on the Fort - yet it becomes you to be ever on the watch, and accustom all under your command to constant vigilance.

The cloathing required for your men shall be forwarded in one of my boats very soon- but the funds for the payment of the garrison cannot be sent until after the arrival of the U.S.Ship Warren from Mazatlan. She is expected to bring funds for the squadron by the first of November, which will be in time I trust for them. If no Whites can be obtained for the Fort, you may retain all of the infantry Indians now employed- at their present rates of pay (six dollars per month). It is desirable to have a few Whites if they can be had.

You will be pleased to accustom the garrison to habits of dayly drill, and disapline.

Lt Revere is temporarily detained at Sonoma, through whom you will continue to transmit communications to me.

I am Sir Your obt Servt
Jno.B.Montgomery
Commdg.Northern Dept
Cali. &c.&c.&c

To
Edw.M.Kern, Esq.
Commanding Fort Sacramento, New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 72)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
San Francisco Octo. 23rd 1846

Sir:-

I have sent Mr Turkington the Pursers Clerk of this ship, with pay notes & accounts of your post, in order properly to arrange & bring them to a close to the 8th of November when the terms of your present garrison will expire.

A few days since I wrote by Mr Bryant, directing the retention of the 30 Indians if necessary to complete your garrison after the 8th at their present rates of compensation, viz Six dollars per Month. Some whites also are desirable provided they can be obtained for your new garrison from that time.

Wishing to avoid the trouble and delay of sending again to the Fort which cannot be done in less than ten or twelve days. Your garrison will sign the pay rolls exhibiting the ballances that will be due them on the 8th of Novbr.- for which due bills will be given redeemable on the arrival of the Warren (with funds for the Squadron) an event I am dayly looking for) when the aggregate sums for that purpose will either be sent to the Fort -or paid here as you shall arrange with Turkington.

I shall require a correct muster roll of your new garrison to transfer to my successor in Command- which you may send by Mr.Turkington provided it can be ascertained before he returns.

I am Sir, very Respty
Your Obt Servt
Jno.B.Montgomery
Commandg Northern Depart
of California &
U.S.S.Portsmouth.

To
Edwd. M.Kerns, Esq
Commandg Fort Sacramento
New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 73)

Circular

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
San Francisco Octo. 29th 1846

Sir:-

The French Consul at Monterey having formally presented a Statement of the desertion of a number of Seamen from the French Whaler Ferdinand, Capt Gestel at anchor at Saulsalito which threatens to break up the Voyage of said ship unless they shall be apprehended and returned on board.

You are hereby directed to use all means in your power to find out & cause to be apprehended said French deserters & to forward them to the Military or Civil Authorities at Yerba Buena or to keep them safely confined and report their apprehension to me with the least possible delay.

The inconveniences arising to Whaling & Merchant vessels from extensive desertions at Sausalito for which the present troubled state of the Country affords peculiar facilities renders it all important for the Civil and Military authorities arround the Bay of San Francisco & the adjacent country to employ their utmost vigilance & power to prevent the continuance of an evil so preduducial to the interests of owners & masters of vessels & all lawfully concerned in the trade of this Bay and to apprehend deserters & all such as may (upon sufficient grounds) be suspected of having deserted from vessels of every Nation while at anshor in the Bay of San Francisco causing them to be sent or duly reported to the Military Commandant at this place; and furthermore

You will please furnish the Alcade with a copy of this Circular for his Government.

I am Sir Your obt Servt.
Jno. B.Montgomery
Military Commandant of
the Northern Department of
California & Commanding
the U.S.Ship Portsmouth

To
Edw. M. Kerns, Esq
Commanding at Fort
Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 74)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
San Francisco Nov. 8th 1846

Sir:-

Your letter of the 27th ult reached me in due season. You have been very successful in obtaining men for the Southern expedition - the number already received & forwarded from this point (from the Fort & Sonoma) being about Ninety, increased by about forty five from the Pueblo of San Jose & Yerbabuena. I am also informed by Mr Bryant that you will have seventy or eighty more of the emigrants - & two hundred Indians to proceed direct from the Sacramento to join Col Fremont - giving him a force of at least six hundred in all; sufficient I doubt not to disperse the Enimy in the South.

You will make up your garrison (the White portion of it) from the Emigrants as you propose - retaining the Indians on the terms before stipulated, and return me a muster roll of the new garrison - with dates of entrance - term for which engaged to serve & monthly pay. of each as soon as you can after completing your number. By the return of the boat if possible.

The pay of Sergeant & Corporals under the increased allowance of pay to Volunteers, I am unable to state- the present pay to privates exceeding the amt. usually given to the Non-Commissioned officers. Col. Fremont who authorized the increased compensation to Volunteers will properly regulate their pay.

Some of your recruits were sent down without Rifles, Saddles, bridles, or blankets, leaving their own behind under an impression that all would be supplied them here. Rifles I have with much difficulty been able to purchase - but saddles & bridles I cannot obtain for the whole number, and have consequently been obliged to send about twenty of the men by water to the Pueblo, and all our blankets have been served out- leaving some of them destitute- which I exceedingly regret - as they will be much needed at this inclement season.

The U.S.Ship Warren is expected very soon - when I hope to receive funds to pay of(f) your men - and the amount of debts contracted at your post. Particularly am desirous to pay the former - who will I suppose, wish to leave you very soon after the 9th inst. You will be pleased to state to them why the funds have not been sent.

I am Sir, Your obt Servt
Jno.B.Montgomery
Commandant Northern Dept.
of California &c. &c.&c.

To
Edwd. M.Kerns,Esq
Commanding Fort Sacramento

N.B. I will thank you to despatch the boat on her return, after allowing the crew a reasonable time to refresh.

Respy.
J.B.M.

(Manuscript Number 75)

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena Decr. 3rd 1846

Sir:-

Agreeably to promise, Purses Watmough forwarded on the 13th Ulto, by the Launch of the U.S.Ship Warren, Eight Hundred and Forty-Six Dollars, being the amount of pay due to the late Garrison of Fort Sacramento, whose terms of Service expired on the 9th ulto. Also forwarded at the same time the accounts of Capt Sutters to be receipted by him, with a letter directing Capt Sutters (after the return of receipted bills) to draw upon Capt. Jos. B. Hull or Purser Ware of the U.S.Ship Warren for their amounts.

Since then Sir, we have heard nothing of the Launch, and it is seriously apprehended from the unusual violence of the recent successive gales, that she is lost with sixteen or seventeen persons that were in her at the time of leaving here. I pray that it may not be so, and that they have found a harbour along the shores of the Bay or Rivers, or have reached the Fort in safety, and been detained by the state of winds & weather.

I am now on the eve of sailing from this port, having been detained by the unfavorable weather for some days. Capt Hull continues in the Command of the Northern Department, to whom I beg leave to refer you in relation to the said accounts of your post, after the fate of the missing Launch shall have been certainly ascertained.

I am Sir, Your Obt Servt
Jno. B.Montgomery
Commander.

To
Edwd. M.Kerns, Esq.
Commdg at Fort Sacramento

The Fort Sutter Papers

Original Drafts of the Reports

sent by

Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort

to

Commander John B. Montgomery

at San Francisco

notifying him of the

Release of Vallejo and Carrillo

in Obedience to Instructions

Reciting

Fremont's Orders Regarding the Prisoners

Requesting Protection for Himself

In the Matter of Giving Freedom to Them

And Informing His Superior of
Conditions and Events in the Fort
and Region under His Charge

Fort Sacramento

August : 1846

Introduction to Volume XIX

THE papers in the present volume comprise the original drafts made by Kern of his reports to Commander Montgomery during August of 1846.

The first of these letters is undated, but was written on August 3d, as is shown by Montgomery's reply thereto. (Vol. XVIII, Manuscript Number 62.) The letter is especially valuable in its connection with the events and papers which have preceded it, and places on record the Fort Commander's own observations and comments on those matters.

Kern explains the reasons for the seizure of Richardson's launch by Fremont (see Vol. VII), and its subsequent detention at the Fort. Regarding the Sonoma prisoners, of whose release Montgomery had written him on July 29th (Vol. X, Manuscript Number 32), he states that they will leave for Sonoma shortly, and discusses the peculiar position in which he is placed by compliance with the order for their release. He next takes up the question of the Express to Oregon (see Vol. XI), of which Montgomery had also written him on July 29th, giving his views of the time and expense such an undertaking would necessitate, and concludes with an account of the Indian uprising in the Sonoma neighborhood.

The second report is dated August 25th, and is in reply to one from Missroon in which that officer had sent to him certain instructions and orders under Montgomery's direction. (See Vol. IX, Manuscript Number 28.) This document announces the establishment of the first mail route in California (see Vol. XII); discusses the movements of the Mexicans in the Sacramento Valley, the conflict in authority between Captain Swift and himself, and other matters with which he had to deal from day to day. Montgomery's reply thereto will be found in Volume XVIII, Manuscript Number 64.

When it is remembered that the letters despatched from the Fort by Kern to the various officers with whom he corresponded have all apparently disappeared, it is a cause for congratulation that in these instances, as well as in his later correspondence with Commander Hull (Vol. XXI, Manuscript Number 83), he made drafts of what he wrote, and thus afforded a view of his own personality and work amidst those times and men whose records he so faithfully preserved.

(Manuscript Number 76)

Fort Sacramento August (3) 1846

Sir:-

In regard to Capt Richardson's Launch, it was brought to this place previous to the open interference of the U.States in the affairs of the Country, with supplies for Capt Fremont, who deeming (it) unsafe to allow it (under the then existing circumstances) to return, ordered its detention until such time as things became more settled or orders received to the contrary. Capt Orbal is now rather indisposed but as soon as able will take the launch down.

Genl Vallejo & N.Carillo will return to Sonoma in a couple of days, subject to your further orders. I think it is the best thing that could be done, as the Genl has been & still continues unwell. My orders from Capt F(remont) were to retain all ~~the-prisoners~~ these gentlemen untill his return, any orders to the contrary notwithstanding. I hope therefore that you will place such restrictions on them that they may not place me in any difficulty.

I will organize the emigrants that are now in & send them either to Sonoma or the Yerba Buena subject to your further orders. With regard to the express there is no one here that is at all suited for a business of this kind. It requiring a brave man & one used to traveling in the wilderness; the road which they will have to travel is one full of danger from the hostile Indians. The Canadian party who are above may have some among them who are fitted for the business. I shall send to them tomorrow. It will require probably 2 or 3 men and the time will be about 2 weeks if they have good horses. I should like to have some idea of what expense you would be willing to incur. You may have a chance of letting me know before they start should I be able to get those who I wish to attend to it. The expense would not be less than $200.

I have an Indian in the Calaboose (a runaway from the Cyane) named Solomon McLoud, he

has been killing cattle up here. I will send him down under charge of Capt.Orbell. Capt Richardson has some complaints against him.

Report has come from the Sonoma side that the Indians have killed and made away with about 300 head of cattle belonging to Don Salvador Vallejo on his ranche at the Lagoon; I wrote to Capt Grigsby about the affair. There are some foreigners collecting horses from the different farms on that side wether authorized or not I do not know. Owing to the unsettled state of Sonoma I thought it best to let you know of it. Mr Jno. Smith will remain in Sonoma to bring any letter you may have for this place.

(E.M.Kern)

To
(Commander J.B.Montgomery
Yerba Buena)

(Manuscript Number 77)

Fort Sacramento August 25th 1846

Sir:-

I received Lieut Missroon's letter of the 16th on Sunday morn (23rd) I have engaged the services of Mr Jacob (Adolph) Burheim (Bruheim) to run the mail instead of one of the garrison he does it on the same terms $10. per trip. My reason for this change is that my men are not familiar enough with the road and might cause some difficulty. I should like to know if I can feed him during his stay at this post between mails 2 days.

I have stopped the rations of sugar Coffee & tobacco of the Indians. By a note from Sonoma there was a band of horses driven by some Spaniards toward the Sacramento - I have heard nothing in relation to the matter save that about 2 weeks ago Mr Wolfskill saw some Spaniards crossing a band of horses at the Estrecho - something should be done with this place to prevent such things happening, as it is entirely too far for me to reach in time to do any good unless I received notice at least 5 or 6 days before the time of crossing.

I have sent up the Valley again to collect those Govt horses & also some which were taken from Sonoma, by some of the residents here. I was not aware before 2 or 3 days ago that there were any such horses the neighborhood - of the National horses that are left up the Valley there are none that (are) fit to be ridden, being mares & colts. Capt Swift when he left this place put them under charge of a Mr Potter who refused to give them up to any but an order from Capt S. I think from the men I have sent this time there will be no trouble.

As they have an iron in Sonoma for the marking of horses and cattle it would be well to get one for this place, as we have no blacksmith here I have written to Lieut Revere to have one made.

(E.M.Kern)

To
J.B.Montgomery
Commander Northern Department.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Messages from Fremont

Sent to

Lieutenant Kern at Sutter's Fort

concerning

Supplies for the Volunteers

and the

California Battalion's

Hurried Departure for the South

Camp on Cosumnes River

and

Los Angeles

1846–1847

Introduction to Volume XX

THIS letter from Fremont to Kern relates to the hurried preparations then in progress to convey succor to Gillespie—who was besieged in Los Angeles—and to cope with the freshly announced Mexican outbreak in the South. The prelude to it was the dramatic exploit of a courier named John Brown (popularly known at the time as "Lean John") who had brought first tidings of the trouble into the Northern District.

Commodore Stockton was at Yerba Buena, whither he had hastened when news came to him that Kern and the garrison at Sutter's Fort were threatened with extermination by Yellow Serpent and the Walla Wallas. (See Vol. VIII, Introduction.) Stockton had left Gillespie in command of affairs in the South with a garrison of fifty men at Los Angeles, where a turbulent element of the Mexican population existed in considerable force. This component of potential danger was unfortunately intensified by a somewhat arrogant air of superiority assumed by Gillespie's troopers toward the Mexicans, and, to some degree also, was still further enhanced by Gillespie's own military regulations and the numerous arrests made at his order. The eventual result was a formidable revolt; Los Angeles was surrounded; and Gillespie was called upon to surrender.

Such was the situation when, on September 24th, Brown started from Los Angeles northward in an effort to convey the tidings to Stockton at Yerba Buena. According to Brown's own story (as related in 1850 by the *Stockton-San Joaquin Republican* and substantially corroborated in various details by Gillespie, Stockton, Colton, and Bryant in their recitals of these events) he achieved the journey to San Francisco, a distance of about five hundred miles, in six days, and the feat made him famous. Preparations were at once begun for a serious campaign. Mervine was started south with the *Savannah,* and Fremont, who had been appointed Military Commander of California on September 2d, and was at that moment with Kern at Fort Sutter, was notified post haste.

Plans were swiftly made by Stockton and Fremont for sending as many men as possible to the South, and this letter from Fremont to Kern, hastily written on October 4th from Fremont's Camp on the Consumnes River, has to do with preparations for the forthcoming expedition. Kern is instructed to send Cosgrave (a name not appearing in Bancroft's Pioneer Register) with Fremont's mail, and with information to neighboring settlers that men are needed. Fremont likewise informs Kern that Stockton is leaving on the same day, and that the recruits from Sonoma who are not already embarked on the *Congress* can very likely overtake him. The letter ends with the abrupt announcement: "We leave to-morrow."

Erratum: Second paragraph, line three: read Vol. XIII instead of Vol. VIII.

Fremont joined Stockton at San Francisco with a hundred and sixty men on October 12th, and they sailed with him next day on the *Congress* and *Sterling*.

Meanwhile Gillespie, after sharp fighting, had capitulated and evacuated Los Angeles. (See Vols. XIII, XIV, and XV.) Mervine reached San Pedro on October 6th, landed three hundred and fifty men, marched on Los Angeles after being joined by Gillespie, was defeated by the Mexicans, retreated to San Pedro with his dead and wounded, and reëmbarked. Stockton, on the *Congress,* arrived at San Pedro on the 23d, heard from Mervine regarding the reverses, and began a campaign whose first phase continued with varying fortunes (including General Kearny's severe defeat at San Pascual) until Kearny's final entry into San Diego on December 12th and his meeting with Stockton there. On December 29th, with Stockton as Commander-in-Chief and Kearny in charge of the troops, the American force of six hundred men started on its march to Los Angeles.

Fremont, who had sailed on the *Sterling* with his hundred and sixty men of the California Battalion, had been compelled to return to Monterey and alter his plans through lack of equipment and men. From there he rushed a messenger to Fort Sutter appealing to Kern for aid, as has been seen in an earlier volume (XV, Introduction). Kern, accordingly, released his veteran garrison for this service in the south, supplanted them with Indians, and constantly secured more recruits from the newly arriving emigrants in the Sacramento region.

On November 29th Fremont, at the head of the motley army thus laboriously collected and numbering 428 men, opened his campaign, and after a long and difficult march, an engagement at Natividad, and a week of rest, entered Santa Barbara on January 3d of 1847. Stockton and Kearny reoccupied Los Angeles on January 10th, and by the 13th Fremont, at the head of his California Battalion, was encamped at the near-by ranch of Cahuengo. There, on this day, the Explorer and the Mexican military chieftains drew up a formal document which brought the war to an end. The Treaty of Cahuengo was signed in behalf of Mexico by General Andres Pico and for the United States by Fremont as Lieutenant Colonel and Military Commander of California. The Conquest of California, and its incorporation into the American Republic, was completed.

Other manuscripts in this volume are documents enumerating supplies furnished by Kern to Fremont during the organization of the California Battalion, and a document by Fremont acknowledging the receipt of horses and supplies from Kern for the use of the Battalion. This last mentioned paper, Manuscript Number 80, is signed by Fremont as "Military Commandant of U. S. Forces in California," a title the assumption of which was destined to be the cause of the quarrel between him, Stockton, and Kearny, which was to have such profound and bitter consequences.

The final manuscript is an order sent by Fremont through Jacob Snyder, then his Quartermaster, and later to become the author of the long and important letter to Kern which is designated as Manuscript Number 159 in Volume Number XXXVIII. The order is dated at Los Angeles, whence it was sent to Kern after the conclusion of the campaign above outlined.

(Manuscript Number 78)

Camp Costume* river, Oct. 4th (1846)

Dear Sir:-

Please send me our brand (letter F) should Cosgrove not have left.

Yours truly
J.C.Fremont

Do not detain your mail for me as Commodore Stockton leaves today, but send him immediately with information to neighboring people that we want men.

The greater part of the Sonoma people will have embarked in the Congress, but there may be some remaining who could overtake us. We leave tomorrow.

To
Lieut Kerne
Comdg Fort Sacramento

* Cosume

(Manuscript Number 79)

(Oct. - 1846)

Expended

Tobacco

77 lbs Delivered to Major Fremont
1 lb to an Indian who found a U.S.Dragoon Pistol
2 lbs to Mr.Carson by order of Lieut Revere
Delivered to the Trappers

20 Men

20 Rations Sugar and Tea
27 Do Do Do for 6 days
Tea and Sugar for 27 men for 7 days
Do Do " 27 men for 14 days
Coffee Do " 29 Do " 14 days

(Manuscript Number 80)

(Oct 7 1846)

Received of Lieut E.M.Kern Commanding Military Post Fort Sacramento, Four Horses & the following articles for the use of the California Battalion Viz:

77 lbs Tobacco
1 Keg - 25 lbs Powder.

J.C.Fremont
Military Commandant
of U.S. Forces in California
Oct 7,1846.

(Manuscript Number 81)

Angeles Feb 11th 1847.

Dr Sir:-

Thirty Saddles and Thirty two horses you will please to receive from Tulare Indians, who have been in the employ of the U.States Government; Should the Indians not bring in the horses and saddles Please send for them.

By order of Lieut Col J.C.Fremont.

Jacob R.Snyder
Quartermaster

N.B. Jose Jesus is the Chief of the tribe.

To
(E.M.Kern)

The Fort Sutter Papers

Original Petition of the Settlers

of

Bear River Valley

Addressed to Kern at Fort Sutter

Reciting the

Outrages Committed upon Them
by the Indians

and

Appealing for Aid and Military
Protection together with Kern's
Detailed Report of his Campaign
Against the Hostiles

Mill Creek
February 28, 1847

Introduction to Volume XXI

KERN'S duties and activities as Commander at the Fort were by no means brought to an end after the California Battalion had been recruited, organized, outfitted, and marched away for the campaign in the South. The contrary seems to have been the case, for, to a still greater degree than before, the safety, order, and general well-being of the Sacramento Valley lay upon his shoulders. Fremont was gone; the veterans of his garrison had departed for the Campaign designed to recover San Diego and Los Angeles; many of the more experienced American emigrants of the district had been enlisted, through his efforts, in the Stockton-Fremont army; new emigrants, untutored in the life and conditions of the western country, were coming in a steady stream into the region for which he was responsible; and the hostile portion of the Indians (with fewer white men about them) increased their depredations and showed a marked growth in the spirit of enmity which animated them. All these things found their reflection within the Fort itself, and in the performances of the young man who was the focus of its influence, authority, and power.

These two manuscripts (Numbers 82 and 83) bring into historical view for the first time an extended campaign made by Kern against the Indians early in 1847, and likewise constitute what is perhaps the best contemporaneous portrayal now extant of the general situation in the Sacramento Valley during the period in question.

The first document (Manuscript Number 82) is the original written appeal for help sent to Kern by the American settlers of Mill Creek. It is dated February 28th; pointedly recites the intolerable conditions then prevailing; and calls for military aid as the only alternative to an abandonment of the region by its American inhabitants or their possible annihilation. To the document are attached the autographic signatures of some of the best known American pioneers of California, brief biographies of whom are contained below.

Manuscript Number 83 is Lieutenant Kern's original draft of his report to Hull regarding the punitive campaign in the mountains, which he organized and carried to a successful conclusion in response to the settlers' appeal, and in which he combined necessary severity and wise moderation.

It is a fortunate thing that the young Commander of the Fort found time to prepare and preserve a copy of this report, for in it he perpetuated not only a valuable narrative of circumstances and events, but also our best portrayal of his own unusual character. The whole fabric of the report is flavored with the mature judgment, poise, efficient qualities, and justified self-assurance

which we should expect to find in a veteran campaigner and mature executive. He had assuredly justified the responsibilities with which he had been so strangely clothed, and had arisen to the full stature demanded by his situation. It will be observed, also, that his authority is stated in a new way. He signs himself as "Commanding the Sacramento District."

Neither Bancroft nor other historians of the period had knowledge of the operations invoked by this appeal and herein described by Kern, although it has been known and recorded that the California Assembly took an undoubtedly related action immediately afterward. Kern's report to Hull is dated at the Fort on March 30th, and in April the Assembly passed resolutions providing that surplus revenues should be devoted to a further campaign against the hostile Indians, if necessary. That body even went so far as to provide that if the regular revenues were insufficient for the purpose, then the civil employees of California were to be called on for a portion of their salaries.

Daniel Sill, whose name heads the list of autographs attached to the Appeal, was the celebrated trapper who came to California from New Mexico in 1832 or 1833, and who built the mill at San Francisco about 1839. From 1844 he lived in the Sacramento country, acted as blacksmith for Sutter, and had bought from Lassen the ranch where he lived when he signed this paper.

Albert C. Toomes had come from New Mexico in 1841 with the overland party of Workman-Rowland. He was the partner of Thomes; was first a carpenter in San Francisco; became naturalized in 1844; was given a land grant in Tehama County; put cattle on it in 1845; and eventually became a very rich, prominent, and influential man.

Robert Hasty Thomes came overland in 1841 with the Bartleson Party; also was naturalized in 1844 and given a ranch in Tehama County; and likewise became a wealthy and influential pioneer figure.

Lewis Wigman was a trader at San Francisco, Monterey, and Sutter's Fort from 1845, and served with Fauntleroy's Dragoons.

Isaac Williams came early to California as one of Young's trappers and hunters from New Mexico, and settled at Los Angeles. He built a house in 1834; was naturalized in 1839; was owner of the Chino Ranch; and was taken prisoner in the fight at Chino.

John Williams, a brother of Isaac, was an overland emigrant in the Chiles Expedition. It is possible that he was a member of the Bear Party, and he lived in the Sacramento district.

Samuel Smith is believed to have been at Sonoma and New Helvetia in 1845, though but little is known of him. Bancroft says he "seems to have had a ranch in the Sacramento Valley in 1847." This document establishes his presence there early in the year named.

The William Anderson who is a signer of the Appeal is probably the famous old bear hunter spoken of in the "History of Colusa County." Larkin, in his "Documents," relates that Anderson wanted to acquire land in the Sacramento Valley.

Abner Bryan (or H. Bryan) is known to have been at New Helvetia in 1845.

Thomas Cochrane first went overland to Oregon in 1843, and then came south into California with the McMahon-Clyman Party. He was at New Helvetia in 1845. In 1849, after these events, it was he who built the first structure at Cacheville, in the shape of a so-called hotel for miners.

The only John Allen appearing in the early records is the one who, as an apostate Mormon, was excommunicated by Brennan, drummed out of camp by the Mormon Battalion in June of 1847, and who later became a "bad man" in the Placer County mines and was killed in Grass Valley in 1851. If this Allen who signed the Appeal in February of 1847 was not the one already known, he is a new personality in the pioneer annals.

David Dutton first went overland to Oregon in 1839; afterward voyaged to South America; and returned to California with Stephen Smith in 1843. He was Sutter's cook for a time, and was naturalized in 1844.

James Meadows arrived in 1837. He was one of Graham's Riflemen in 1837–38; was exiled; but returned in 1841 and became a lumberman. Of him, says Bancroft, "not much is known" from 1843 to 1848. He was granted the Palo Escrito ranch in 1854.

W. Minier (heretofore recorded in annals only as "Minier") was an emigrant with a family, concerning whom nothing has been previously known save that he was at the Fort in 1846. This document establishes him as one of the settlers on Bear Creek.

William Ratter, also herein identified as a Bear Creek pioneer, is a personality not previously discovered in the records of the time.

John Potter was an emigrant with a family, who is known to have been at the Fort in June of 1846. In Volume VI is contained a letter (Manuscript Number 12) from Kern to Potter demanding the return of horses taken from Sonoma by him, from which it appears that he possibly accompanied the Bear Flag Party. He accumulated a large fortune at the mines in 1848. Burnett's Party, from Oregon, met him soon afterward and considered that his riches had unbalanced him mentally. He died in 1851, and the fortune he had made is said to have been buried by him somewhere on his ranch.

(Manuscript Number 82)

Mill Creek Feb 28 1847

Sir:-

We the undersigned take this method of informing you of our Situation in this part of the Valley the Indians are assembling together and have commensed killing Cattle belonging to Messrs Sill & Lassen also have driven a portion into the Mountain the Indians are Vary numerous and if we cannot get assistance the probable consequence will be that we will be forced to abandon our farms and leave our property to the Murcy of the Indians purhaps something worse.

The Indians in the Vally air uniting with those of the Mountains which will make their number much greater than it ever has been before.

We theirfore think the only way that we can muntain our position will be to have a Military force sufficient Stationed in this Vicinity to keep the Indians in awe.

Respectfully Yours &c. &c.

Daniel Sill	John Allen
A.G.Toomes	John Williams
R.H.Thomes	Thos.Cochrane
J.Meadows	Wm. Ratter
L.Wigman	John Potter
W.Minier	Sam Smith
David Dutton	Abner Bryan
Isaac Williams	Wm.Anderson

To The Commander of the U.S.forces
New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 83)

Fort Sacramento
March 30,1847

Sir:-

Whilst encamped in the Cal.Mountains assisting the suffering emigrants I received a call from the settlers in the upper portion of this Dist. asking for assistance to repel the depredations committed on their property and the persons of Indians living among them & in their employ by natives residing in the Mountains. I believe a copy of the petition was sent to you by Mr McKinstry.

Being in the vicinity of the troubled dist. encamped - I sent to the fort for an additional force. On their arrival we moved immediately up the valley. On our arrival & inquiring into the matter I found that they have been killing & stealing the stock of the Settlers, and have come repeatedly in armed forces threatening the lives of the inhabitants, ~~surrounding-their-houses-of-nights-and-chasing them-on-the-prairies-whenever-an-opportunity offered~~ That they had also killed several of the Indians who were well disposed toward the Whites living and laboring among them. That they were collecting in numbers and preparing to attack the Settlements, which from their great number, and the scattering and unprotected situation of the residents (at present most of them being employed in the Army) they might easily have accomplished.

Obtaining guides to the hostile towns, we started in the evening - into the Mts next morning we arrived among them surprised them and took them prisoners they acknowledged to having killed Cattle - as they offered no resistance, a guard was stationed to prevent their giving information to any of their friends We passed then to a larger village where they immediately took to their arms and commenced fight, a round from my party killing 4 brought them to terms. I had ordered that no gun should be fired unless the assault was commenced from the other side. We took a num-

ber of prisoners and returned to camp- explained to them the necessity of better behavior in future, and the benefits they would receive by keeping a friendly intercourse with the Whites-They were then released to return to their people.

Moved next morning further up the Valley- here were the same complaints - proceeded to the village that night arrived next morning the Indians retreated to the Canon of Deer Creek, we followed - they tried to stop our progress by rolling stones from the surrounding heights & shooting arrows. At this place there were about 6 killed - Explanation was made to them as in the previous case - They all acknowledged having killed Cattle, and having troubled the settlers to a great degree.

The great number of Indians in this Dist renders it extremely necessary for the safety of the lives and property of persons settling or passing through this part of the Country that a Military post should be kept up, at least untill some arrangement can be made by Government for the disposition of the natives. Those inhabiting the Valley are generally disposed to labor, but the scattering few inhabitants at present here, leave many unemployed in any useful pursuits, consequently depredations are repeatedly committed by them on the neighboring farms. They have been repeatedly punished and cautioned in relation to their aggressions, and are acquainted with the penalties- Since my command of this place I have taken every opportunity to have explained to them the necessity of a cessation of the many depredations committed by them while the country was under a former Govt., of the advantages to them arising from the change.

Another reason why there should be a garrison maintained here, is for the protection of the Emigration from the States and Oregon- The Emigrants from the former place last fall lost several of their people on Marys River and many of their Cattle and horses while passing through the Cal.Mts. as close as 25 miles of

Johnsons farm - by hostile Indians. The road from Oregon is inhabited by Indians of the most hostile disposition, depredations being committed on all parties passing through their country, frequently with loss of life. Though poorly armed the nature of the country gives them an advantage over the passing traveller.

I would also call your attention to the almost constant interference of the Walla Wallas Indians with the Indians of the Valley plundering and maltreating them, on every occasion - and taking to themselves horses & property of the citizens. They are making preparations to leave which I have no doubt they will as soon as they can dispose of the Govt due Bills which they hold for services rendered. At the time of their leaving it will be necessary (to prevent their molesting the property of the natives or inhabitants) for a party to see them safe out of the country.

The present Garrison at this place is composed of fifty Indians - trained to the use of fire arms, and every way fitted for such service as is called for in this section. I shall retain them till I have an answer from you in relation to the affair.

I have been thus full that you might know more of the facts in relation to the case. Should you wish for any particulars Mr McKinstry can give them to you.

I have the honor Sir to remain
Your most Obt Sevt
Edw. M.Kern
Commg Sac. Dist.

To
Joseph B.Hull.
(Commanding Northern Department
San Francisco)

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Original Documents
of
Lieutenant Kern at Fort Sacramento
including
Papers written by John A. Sutter
Showing the Accounts
of the
Men Comprising the Garrison
and the Supplies
Furnished by Leidesdorff, Sherman, and Davis

Fort Sacramento : Yerba Buena : Rancho del Paso
1846–1847

Introduction to Volume XXII

ANOTHER instance in which Kern made duplicate copies, for his own records, of the documents displaying his administration of affairs at Sutter's Fort is embodied in this volume. These particular papers are the accounts kept by him to show the expense of maintaining the Fort as a military post, and, in consequence, they contain itemized statements of the supplies provided by him to each man of the garrison, whether white or Indian.

In certain of their aspects these particular manuscripts afford a clearer insight than any others of the collection into the day-by-day life and the intimate surroundings of himself and the strangely constituted band of men who were subject to his authority.

Upon Kern devolved the duty of supplying his force with the things of their daily need. He, in turn, necessarily looked to the naval establishment under Montgomery for those materials, many of which could not otherwise have been obtained. (See also letters from Missroon in Volume IX; from Henderson, Watmough, and McKington in Volume XVI; and from Montgomery in Volume XVIII for additional details on this subject.) He turned to Surgeon Henderson for his drugs and medicines; to Montgomery for arms and ammunition; and to Purser Watmough for certain articles of food and numerous articles of clothing and personal necessities. The needs of the Fort in these regards had, first of all, to be definitely ascertained, or else calculated as nearly as might be possible. Then the lists had to be made out according to requisite naval formulas and forwarded to the ships at Yerba Buena. By and by, in response to those requisitions, a launch from Watmough would arrive laden with the articles called for, or else messages would come with statements that the things could not be sent.

On arrival of the materials they had to be inventoried, checked, receipted for, distributed to the men, and, finally, these lists in record of the distribution had to be drawn up. The members of the Garrison were paid partly in money and partially in rations, clothing, and supplies of various other sorts (Montgomery's instructions, Volume XVIII), and Kern's garrison accounts show the manner in which he maintained the individual members of his little army.

But they reveal much besides that. They disclose even the personal qualities of the men as a group and as individuals. Manuscript Number 84, which is entitled "Accounts of the men in Garrison at Fort Sacramento for the Month ending September 7th, 1846," contains a catalogue of supplies furnished to the ten white men and twenty Indians,—thirty in all,—and twenty-nine of the accounts begin with the talismanic item "tobacco." Only one man (H. Marshall)

seems to have been able to exist from day to day without that magical antidote for the hardships of frontier life. Six of the other nine white men each consumed two pounds during the month, and the other three got along on one pound each. Every Indian drew one pound, but even that quantity was later withdrawn from their ration as supplied from the navy stores.

It appears from this record of Kern's that something very much in the nature of a uniform was worn by the members of the Garrison. All the men, including Indians, were furnished with blue flannel shirts, duck trousers, duck frocks, and black handkerchiefs. This apparel seems to have been essential, though the "fine combs" used by some of the men were evidently not a prescribed part of their equipment, since five of the white men, including John A. Sutter, did not requisition those supposedly necessary articles. But Sutter, of course, already possessed his own comb. The largest number of handkerchiefs used by any man during the month was two. Four of the white garrison limited themselves to one handkerchief each, during September, and several others are not credited with drawing any. The Indians also dispensed with handkerchiefs.

The two succeeding Manuscripts (Numbers 85 and 86) have a most exceptional interest through the fact that they are both entirely in the hand of Captain John A. Sutter himself. In them we possess historical documents prepared by the famous pioneer wherein the needs of the garrison then occupying the celebrated fort which he had built are set forth during the very interval when it had passed from his control and was a headquarters in the United States Conquest of the region where he had so long been the outstanding figure. The nature of the two documents themselves, their authorship, and the circumstances under which they were created, allot to them a unique place among the few existing manuscript memorials of the Conquest.

Sutter's lists embody the needs of the seven white men,—exclusive of Kern, but including himself,—the twenty Indians who served as trappers, and the thirty Indians who were serving as infantry. And again in Sutter's lists is the suggestion of a uniform apparent, since the blue flannel shirts and duck frocks still persist, and "blue cloth trowsers" are specified for the white men and the twenty Indian trappers. The Indian infantry are still wearing the "duck trowsers." Sutter calls for two things not asked by any one else, in the shape of a pea-jacket and a mattress. He also wants two handkerchiefs. Each of the Indian infantrymen is this time allotted two combs, one being coarse and the other fine. Coarse shoes are designated for all, and the list concludes with a succinct and eloquent entry reading: "90 lbs. soap."

In addition the volume contains documents with lists of clothing for the Fort; letters showing shipments to the Fort of beef, bread, sugar, tea, tobacco, coffee, and rice from Leidensdorff (through Meyer) and Ridley; a three-gallon jug of brandy from R. M. Sherman; and a letter indicating that Kern himself desired to procure such unobtainable things as silk handkerchiefs, saleratus, braid, raisins, fine blue cloth, and allspice.

The concluding manuscript, which was prepared by Kern at a later time (perhaps in 1848), is the draft of a deposition made by him regarding his authority at Fort Sutter and his procurement of supplies as its Commander.

(Manuscript Number 84)

Accounts of the men in Garrison at Fort Sacramento
for the month ending Sept 7th 1846

John A.Sutter	To two pound Tobacco	@ .25		.50
J.Smith	To 2 lbs Tobacco	@ .25	1.00	.50
	2 Blue F.Shirts	@ 2.31	4.62	
	2 pr of Stockings	@ .47	.94	6.56
J.McDowell	To 1 lb Tobacco			.25
	1 Blue F.Shirt		2.31	
H.Marshall	To 2 Blue F.Shirts	@ 2.31	4.62	
J.Gregson	To 2 lbs Tobacco	@ .25	.50	.50
	1 B.F.Shirt	2.31	2.31	
	2 pr Duck trowsers	@ .72	1.44	
	1 Black Handkerchief		.99	
	1 Fine Comb		.28	5.52
W.Northgrave	To 1 lb Tobacco		.25	.25
	1 B.F.Shirt		2.31	
	2 Duck Frocks	@ .93	1.86	4.42
J.Tylee	To 2 lbs Tobacco	@ .25	.50	.50
	2 Blue F.Shirts	@ 2.31	4.62	
	2 Duck Trowsers	@ .72	1.44	
	1 Black Handkerchief		.99	7.55
C.Burch	To 1 lb Tobacco		.75	.25
	2 Blue F.Shirts	@ 2.31	4.62	
	1 Black Handkerchief		.99	
	1 fine Comb		.28	6.64
H.Downing	To 2 lbs Tobacco	@ .25	1.00	.50
	1 Blue F.Shirt		2.31	
	2 pr Duck Trowsers	@ .72	1.44	
	2 Duck Frocks	@ .93	1.86	
	2 Black Handchfs	@ .99	1.98	
	1 Fine Comb		.28	8.87
E.Bray	To 2 lbs Tobacco	@ .25	.75	.50
	1 Blue F.Shirt		2.31	
	2 Duck Trowsers	@ .72	1.44	
	1 Black Handkerchief	@	.99	
	1 Fine Comb		.28	5.77
Twenty Indians Each	To 1 lb Tobacco	@ .25		5.00
	1 Blue F.Shirt	@ 2.31	46.20	.75
	2 pr Duck Trowsers	@ .72	28.80	4.25
	1 Duck Frock	@ .93	18.60	

There are 7 pair Duck Trowsers which I shall return for exchange per Launch for larger size.

E.M.Kern
Comd. Ft.Sacra'to.

(Manuscript Number 85)

There is required for the Men composing the Garrison at Fort Sacramento the following Articles of Clothing &c.

James Smith 1st Segt.	2 Blankets, 2 Blue flanell Shirts, 2 pair Coarse Shoes, No. 5;
James Gregson	2 Blankets, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 2 Blue flanell Shirts, 4 pair Woolen Stockings.
James Tylee	2 Blankets, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers 2 Blue flanell Shirts
Wm.Northgrave	1 Blanket, 1 Duck Frock, 2 pair Coarse Shoes.
Edmund Bray	1 Blanket, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 1 Blue flanell Shirt, 2 Duck Frocks 1 paid Woolen Stockings, 1 pair Coarse Shoes.
Hy.Marshall	2 Blankets, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers 1 Blue Flanell Shirt, 1 pr Coarse Shoes.
J.A.Sutter	1 Pea Jacket, 2 Blankets, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 6 woolen Socks 2 pair Woolen Stockings, 2 Black Handkerchiefs, 1 Matrass.
The Trappers 20 Men (Indians)	20 Pea Jackets, 20 Blankets, 20 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 20 pair Coarse Shoes. 20 Coarse Combs, 20 Fine Combs.
For the 30 Men Infantry(Indians)	30 Blankets, 30 Blue flanell Shirts, 30 Duck frocks, 60 Duck Trowsers, 30 pair Coarse Shoes, 30 fine Combs, 30 Coarse Combs
	90 lbs Soap.

Edward M.Kern
Commanding Fort Sacramento
Oct 14th 1846.

(Manuscript Number 86)

There is required for the Men composing the Garrison at Fort Sacramento the following Articles of Clothing &c.

James Smith 1st Sergt	1 paire Blankets, 2 Blue flanell Shirts 2 paire Coarse Shoes, No. 5.
James Gregson	1 paire Blankets, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 1 Blue flanell Shirt, 4 pr Woolen Stockings.
James Tylee	1 paire Blankets, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 2 Blue flanell Shirts;
Wm. Northgrave	1 Blanket, 1 Duck frock, 2 pr Coarse Shoes, 1 Fine Comb.
Edmund Bray	1 Blanket, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 1 Blue flanell Shirt, 2 Duck frocks, 1 Woolen Stockings, 1 pr Coarse Shoes
Henry Marshall	1 paire Blankets, 1 Blue cloth Trousers, 1 Blue flanell Shirt, 1 pr Coarse Shoes.
J.A.Sutter	1 Pea Jacket, 1 paire Blankets, 1 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 6 paire Woolen Socks, 2 paire Woolen Stockings, 2 Black Handkerchiefs, 1 Matrass.
The Trappers 20 Men (Indians)	20 Pea Jackets, 10 paire Blankets, 20 Blue Cloth Trowsers, 20 paire Coarse Shoes 20 Fine Combs, 20 Coarse Combs.
For the 30 Men Infantry(Indians)	15 paire Blankets, 30 Blue flanell Shirts, 30 Duck frocks, 60 Duck Trowsers, 30 pr Coarse Shoes, 30 Fine Combs 30 Coarse Combs 90 lbs Soap.

(Manuscript Number 87)

List of Clothing Sent to E.M.Kern, for the Following Men.

Names	Blue Flanell Shirts	Duck Trowsers	Duck Frocks	Black Handkfs	Fine Combs
Wm.Northgrave	1		2		
Edmund Bray	1	2		1	1
James Tylee	2	2		1	
Helms Dowling	1	2	2	2	1
Jas.McDowell	1				
Chas.H.Burch	2			1	1
James Gregson	1	2		1	1
Twenty Indians	20	40	20		
Henry Marshall	2				
James Smith	2				
	33	48	24	6	4

1 Pair Stockings for James Smith.
One blue flannel
two pr duck Trouser
One duck frock for each indian

(Manuscript Number 88)

Yerba Buena Novbr 24th 1846

Capt Kern:-

Sir you will receive according to your order by Capt Sutter's Launch the following Articles Viz:

400 lbs Sugar
100 lbs Coffee
25 lbs Tea

being contained in one box & 11 1/2 bags

Yours respectfully
W.A.Leidesdorff
per Ch. Meyer

(Manuscript Number 89)

Capt Kern:-

I received a note from Mr Reynolds wherein he informs me to send you the following Articles

2 lbs of Tea	@ $2.4	$5.
1 1/2 ar Sugar	@ 8	12.
1 ar of Rice	@ 3.4	3.4
		$20.4

and 1 ar of Coffee

I am sorry that I cannot send you the Coffee but I have none myself and could not get any no where.

I am Yours respectfully
W.Leidesdorff
pr Meyer.

To Capt Kern
Commanding Officer at New Helvetia.

(Manuscript Number 90)

Sir:-

There is required for the use of the Crew of the Launch Paul Jones, consisting of 8 men on Govt service in search of missing Boat (Warren launch) the following provisions & small stores:

Eighty pounds Beef
Sixty four pounds Bread
Eight pounds Sugar
One pound of Tea
Seven pound Tobacco, borrowed from Capt Sutter, which he wishes returned per first opportunity.

I am &c
Robert T.Ridley.

To
E.M.Kern
Comg F.Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 91)

E.M.Kern, Esq

Sir:-

Yours to Capt Grimes of Nov.17 is before me. We have but few of the articles you write for, neither can we procure them here. I can not get any little Hdkfs but red pongee in the place, therefore send you three of them @ 1.25 each. If they do not suit you please return them. I am in want of some good ones and if I find any will buy some for you. There is no very good or fine Blue Cloth here, but there are two pieces, samples of both of which I send you. The price is $7. the vara for either piece. Please say which you will have, if either and how much. I have numbered the pieces and you can write me which number you will take. If you prefer some finer cloth than these, let me know and I will get some should there be an opportunity, which I think will be the case soon.

I send you a keg of Brandy containing three gallons at $4.00 per gallon. Mr R. T.Ridley says he will pay for one gallon of it, in which case I shall charge you but two. Please write for anything you may want & if we do not have it, I will procure it & send it if I can get it here. There is no Salaratus or raisins here & no other spice but Allspice, which $1.50 per bottle of about one pound. If you wish one, write & I will send one.

Believe me, Yours Truly
R.M.Sherman
for Wm.H.Davis.

P.S. Please return the keg in which I send the Brandy. Please say what trimmings you shall want with the cloth & I will send them if I can get them.

Yours
R.M.S.

I do not think there is any braid to be had but will see.

To
Mr E.M.Kern
Commanding Fort Sacramento
Per J(ohn) Sinclair, Esq.

(Manuscript Number 92)

To E.M.Kern
Commanding Fort Sacramento

Sir:-

There is required for the use of the crew of the Launch Dice (?) Manana two pounds Tobacco, to be returned.

Geo. Williams

Received of E.M.Kern 2 pounds Tobacco for use of above crew by order of Lieut Woodworth.

Geo. Williams

(Manuscript Number 93)

I Edward M.Kern, native of the City of Philadelphia was attached to Lieut Col J.C.Fremont's late exploring Expedition as his artist - I continued in this situation untill the 25th of July 1846 - when I was appointed 1st Lieut in the Cal Battn - with the Command of Fort Sacramento & District - By Commodore Stockton, in which situation I continued till 25 of March 1847.

While at this post I had to make purchases of Beef for my Command and always procured cows - as the best meat - The male Cattle are not much used as Beef, but for their hides and tallow.

All cattle purchased for use of Top. party were cows - and in several instances when cattle were presented to the party by the inhabitants were always cows - That the average price of cows in this District was from 8 to 10 & 11 dollars.

Edw. M.Kern.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Manuscript Pay Rolls

of

The Garrison at Sutter's Fort

as Enlisted by

Lieutenants Missroon and Revere of the *Portsmouth*

Prepared, Signed and Certified

by

Lieutenant Kern as Commander of the Fort

at

The Order of Commander Montgomery

Fort Sacramento

1846–1847

Introduction to Volume XXIII

THE five manuscripts here assembled are Kern's copies of the muster-rolls and pay-rolls of the Fort Sutter Garrison, and are the most elaborate of the formal documents prepared by him while commanding there. On their face they embody the names of all his company and many other details heretofore unknown, and in addition they are crowded with information which is discoverable beneath the surface of the written record when they are studied in connection with other documents embraced by the Fort Sutter Papers.

Manuscript Number 94, which begins the volume, shows that Lieutenants Missroon and Revere, of the Navy, were the officers who originally entered many or all of the men who first garrisoned the Fort, and that the garrison in its entirety was later transferred from the authority of the Navy as exercised by Montgomery, and placed in "Col. J. C. Fremont's Command."

Another revelation made by these garrison rolls is that which (in connection with Missroon's and Montgomery's letters listed as Manuscripts Number 27 in Vol. IX and Number 63 in Vol. XVIII) relates to John A. Sutter and his rank in relation to Kern.

Captain Sutter, in his manuscript "Personal Reminiscences" (pp. 140–150), said he acted in good faith as an ally of the United States by renouncing his Mexican citizenship and opening the gates of his stronghold to Fremont. Bidwell, on the other hand, in his manuscript entitled "California in 1841–8" (pp. 164–7), relates that Sutter so greatly displeased Fremont when the explorer came to the Fort after the Sonoma Captives' arrival, that Fremont told Sutter he could go and join the Mexicans if he did not like what was being done. Marshall (the garrison soldier revealed in Manuscript Number 83 as the only one who did not use tobacco) corroborates Bidwell, for in his manuscript "Statement" (p. 2) he wrote that Sutter favored permitting the Captives to walk about on parole, but that Fremont threatened to hang him if any of the prisoners escaped. Still another contemporary witness of these circumstances was Lieutenant Revere, who, in his "Tour of Duty" (pp. 74–5), says that the guards of the prisoners were suspicious and threatened to shoot Sutter on account of his polite attitude toward the imprisoned men.

All these things, and other components in the sudden alteration whereby Sutter had been reduced from his former position of eminence and power in the region must assuredly have hurt the old pioneer sorely, and in his own "Personal Reminiscences" he ignored Kern altogether and continually wrote as though he himself had remained in command at the Fort during the events under review. His "Diary" was practically suspended from about July 1st

of 1846 until May of 1847. These Fort Sutter Papers, and especially the ones in this volume, disclose the reason for that hiatus in Sutter's account of daily affairs. His military status was that of a lieutenant who had been appointed by Kern, and he was under Kern's command.

The nucleus of the garrison was originally composed of members of the Bear Flag Party who first came to the Fort as a guard over the Sonoma Captives. But as time went on, and the needs in the South became more urgent, the white men of the garrison nearly all disappeared from the records on which Kern preserved the details of his command. They joined the California Battalion under Fremont, and Kern and Sutter trained a force of Indians in their stead.

These muster-rolls and pay-rolls were prepared at the request of Montgomery and embrace the period of Kern's administration at the Fort, which, as he states in Volume XXII, Manuscript Number 93, terminated on March 25th of 1847.

The last manuscript in this volume is a document possessing a significance and value which far outweigh its worth as a record. It is simply a "List of Twelve Men," but it is another paper written by John A. Sutter, and reveals him as acting in some subordinate and clerical capacity while Kern ruled the Fort. In May of 1847, after Kern's departure, Sutter resumed the daily entries in his diary.

(Manuscript Number 94)

Pay Roll of Garrison at Fort Sacramento Entered
by Lieut Missroon, U. S. N.

	Names	Rank	When Entd	When Discgd	No of Mts	Pay per Mo	Amt rcd in Clo & Tob	Whole Amt	Amt Due
1	J.A.Sutter	Lieut	Aug 8	Nov 8	3	$50.00	$23.65	$150.00	$126.35
2	Jas Smith	1t Ser.	Aug 8	Nov 8	3	20.50	15.54	61.50	45.96
3	Jas McDowell	2d Ser.	Aug 8	Nov 8	3	17.50	3.00	52.50	49.44
4	Jas Tylee	1t Cor.	Aug 8	Nov 8	3	13.50	17.03	40.50	23.47
5	Henry Marshall	2d Cor.	Aug 8	Nov 8	3	13.50	11.54	40.50	28.96
6	Jas.Gregson	Private	Aug 8	Nov 8	3	12.50	14.57	37.50	29.93
7	W.Northgrave	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	9.66	37.50	27.84
8	Edmund Bray	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	12.54	37.50	24.96
9	Helms Downing	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	8.87	25.00	16.13-
10	Chas.Burch	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	6.89	25.00	18.11-
11	Olimpio	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	~~37.50~~	37.50	20.23
12	Celestino	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
13	Baptiste	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
14	Lula	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
15	Halabague	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
16	Tokatchi	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
17	Ajeas	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
18	Dashuma	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
19	Hugashi	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
20	Witash	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
21	Sapne	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
22	Lesha	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
23	Hieronimo	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
24	Yoiko	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
25	Wisha	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
26	Hutchumne	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
27	Nunt	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
28	Yauti	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50			
29	Osa	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23
30	Nella	"	" 8	" 8	3	12.50	37.50	37.50	20.23

- transferred to Col J.C.Fremont's Command.

Pay Roll of Garrison at "Fort Sacramento"
Entered by Lieut J. W. Revere U.S.N.

	Names	Rank	When Entd	When Discgd	No of Mths m.d.	Mo Pay	Amt in Clotg	Whole Amt	Amt Due
31	Homo Bono	Priv	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	$6.	$6.89	$10.60	$3.71
32	Augustine	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
33	Francisco	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
34	Leandro	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
35	Elutareo	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
36	Juan	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
37	Pascacio	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
38	Carlos	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
39	Basilio	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
40	Pompeno	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
41	Andres	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
42	Bartola	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
43	Butchi	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
44	Lagalo	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
45	Valentin	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
46	Nunt	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
47	Fabian	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
48	Augustin	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
49	Wokno	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
50	Dolokuk	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
51	Dolehachse	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
52	Sixto	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
53	Desideria	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
54	Twon	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
55	Kilog	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
56	Gastr	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
57	Jose Maria	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
58	Hilolita	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
59	Dolchuck	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71
60	Bunno	"	Sep 16	Nov 9	1.23	6.	6.89	10.60	3.71

Edw. M.Kern
Comg. F.Sacramento

(Manuscript Number 95)

Pay Roll of Garrison at "Fort Sacramento".

	Names	Rank	Date of Enlt	Date of Disc	No of Mths	Pay per Mo	Whole Amt.	To ba co	Clo th ing	
1	J.A.Sutter	Lieut	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	$50.00	$183.00			
2	Olimpia	Priv.	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	
3	Celestino	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
4	Clemente	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	1.50	
5	Hannoah	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
6	Ajeas	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	4.50	
7	Doshuma	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
8	Lula	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	4.50	
9	Hieronemo	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	4.50	
10	Yinti	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	4.50	
11	Tokatchi	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
12	Wisha	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	1.50	
13	Hutchumne	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
14	Yoiko	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	4.50	
15	Osa	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
16	Huhsia	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
17	Sapne	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	1.50	
18	Hugushe	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		
19	Wilash	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	4.50	
20	Lesha	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25	4.50	
21	Nella	"	Nov 9	Feb 23	3 1/3	12.50	37.50	.25		Amount Due
	S.		Aug 8	Nov 8	3	50.00	150.00		23.65	126.35
	J S.		" "	" "	"	20.50	61.50		15.54	45.96
	McD.		" "	" "	"	17.50	52.50		3.06	49.44
	T.		" "	" "	"	13.50	40.50		17.03	23.47
	Marshl		" "	" "	"	13.50	40.50		11.54	28.96
	Gregn		" "	" "	"	12.50	37.50		14.57	29.93
	Northgrave		" "	" "	"	12.50	37.50		9.66	27.84
	E.Bray		" "	" "	"	12.50	37.50		12.54	24.96
	H.Downing		" "	Oct 8	2	12.50	25.00		8.87	16.13
	Chs Burch		" "	" "	2	12.50	25.00		6.89	18.11
	Olimpio		" "	Nov 8	3	12.50	37.50		37.50	20.23

(Manuscript Number 96)

Pay Roll of Garrison at "Fort Sacramento" from Nov 9 '46 to Feb 26'47

	Name	Rank	Date of En list	Date of Disc ge	No of Mnts	Mthly Pay	Whole Amt.	To ba co	Clot hing	Amount Due
1	J.A.Sutter	Lt.	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	$50.00	$183.32			$183.32*
2	Olimpia	Priv	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	$4.50	41.07*
3	Celestino	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
4	Clemente	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	1.50	44.07*
5	Hannoah	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
6	Ajeas	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	41.07*
7	Dashuma	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
8	Lula	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	41.50*
9	Hieronimo	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	41.50*
10	Yauti	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	41.50*
11	Tokatchi	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
12	Wisha	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	1.50	44.07*
13	Hutchumne	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
14	Yoiko	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	41.50*
15	Osa	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
16	Huchsia	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	1.50	44.07*
17	Sapne	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
18	Nagishe	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
19	Witash	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	41.07*
20	Lesha	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25	4.50	41.07*
21	Nella	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	12.50	45.82	.25		45.57*
22	Homobona	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
23	Augustin	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
24	Francisco	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00		1.50	20.50#
25	Leandro	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00		1.50	20.50#
26	Eluterio	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
27	Juan	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00		1.50	20.50#
28	Pascasio	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00		1.50	20.50#
29	Carlos	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00		1.50	20.50#
30	Bussilio	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00		1.50	20.50#
31	Pompeyo	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
32	Andreas	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
33	Bartola	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
34	Butchi	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
35	Lagato	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
36	Valentin	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
37	Nunt	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
38	Fabian	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
39	Augustin	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
40	Wokno	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
41	Dolokick	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
42	Dolabachse	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
43	Sixto	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
44	Desiderio	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
45	Twon	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
46	Kilog	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
47	Gastr	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
48	Jose Maria	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
49	Hipolita	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
50	Dolohuck	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#
51	Bunno	"	Nov 9	Feb 26	3 2/3	6.00	22.00			22.00#

* These Men were entered August 8/46 by Lieut Missroon- as Cavalry troops. The clothing here furnished was by "Expedition to California Mountains", for services rendered.

\# Entered Sept 16th 1847(6) By Lieut Revere of U.S.Ship "Portsmouth" as Infantry Troops. The pay to be in clothing. The Clothing furnished here, was by "Expedition to California Mountains" for Services rendered

I certify that the above A/cs of the men composing Garrison are correct.

E.M.KERN. COMMG. FORT SACRAMENTO. April 21st,1847.

(Manuscript Number 97)

Roll of the Men Composing Garrison at Fort Sacramento New Helvetia A(lta) C(alifornia) from Nov 9th 1846 to March 9th 1847

	Names of Present & Absent Officers & Privates	Rank	Date of Entr	Pay per Mth	To ba co	Pay due up to this date
1	John A.Sutter	Lieut	Nov 9	$50.00	.25	$200.00
2	Olimpio	Priv	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
3	Celestino	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
4	Clemente	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
5	Hannoah	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
6	Ajeas	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
7	Dashuma	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
8	Lula	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
9	Hieronimo	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
10	Yauti	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
11	Togatchi	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
12	Natchume	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
13	Yoiko	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
14	Osa	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
15	Huchsia	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
16	Sopne	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
17	Hugishe	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
18	Witash	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
19	Lesha	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
20	Nella	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
21	Wisha	"	" "	12.50	.25	49.75
22	Homo Bono	"	" "	6.00		24.00
23	Augustine	"	" "	6.00		24.00
24	Francisco	"	" "	6.00		24.00
25	Leander	"	" "	6.00		24.00
26	Eleuterio	"	" "	6.00		24.00
27	Juan	"	" "	6.00		24.00
28	Pascacio	"	" "	6.00		24.00
29	Carlos	"	" "	6.00		24.00
30	Basilio	"	" "	6.00		24.00
31	Pompeyo	"	" "	6.00		24.00
32	Andres	"	" "	6.00		24.00
33	Bartolo	"	" "	6.00		24.00
34	Butchi	"	" "	6.00		24.00
35	Legalo	"	" "	6.00		24.00
36	Valentin	"	" "	6.00		24.00
37	Nunt	"	" "	6.00		24.00
38	Fabian	"	" "	6.00		24.00
39	Augustin	"	" "	6.00		24.00
40	Wokno	"	" "	6.00		24.00
41	Dolokock	"	" "	6.00		24.00
42	Dolo bachse	"	" "	6.00		24.00
43	Sixto	"	" "	6.00		24.00
44	Desiderio	"	" "	6.00		24.00
45	Twon	"	" "	6.00		24.00
46	Kilog	"	" "	6.00		24.00
47	Gasto	"	" "	6.00		24.00
48	Jose Maria	"	" "	6.00		24.00
49	Hipolilito	"	" "	6.00		24.00
50	Dolohuck	"	" "	6.00		24.00
51	Bunna	"	" "	6.00		24.00

Edw. M.Kern
Commg. Fort Sacramento, March 31, 1847

(Manuscript Number 98)

List of the 12 Men

Celestino	Corporal	
Acheas		
Lesha		Cavalry
Hugishe		
Tokatihi		
Osa		

Carlos	
Pompeyo	
Paseacio	of the Infantry.
Basilio	
Juan	
Gasto	

Sutter, March 8

The Fort Sutter Papers

Kern's Letter to Gillespie

(Written in 1853)

Regarding

The Refugee California Emigrants

at

Sutter's Fort in 1846

and the

Loss of the Fort Sutter Papers

in the Disaster to

Fremont's Expedition of 1848–1849

1853

Introduction to Volume XXIV

THIS letter possesses several phases of strange interest and importance in relation to the events with which it deals, and also to the unknown history of the Fort Sutter Papers themselves. It is the original draft of a missive addressed by Kern to Gillespie in 1853, and its present existence demonstrates that Kern still continued—after an interval of seven years—to prepare and keep duplicate copies of historical material dealing with the events of 1846.

But (as is shown by manuscripts embodied in Volumes XXXI and XXXV) Kern had lost his papers in the New Mexico mountains while accompanying Fremont during the disastrous expedition of 1848–1849, and had thereafter continued an unavailing effort to recover them up to a date certainly as late as October 11, 1851. (See Manuscript Number 149 in Volume XXXV, wherein Kern declares his inability to supply certain information and dates relating to 1846 because of the loss of the papers.)

Now, however, in this present volume we possess a letter written on March 11, 1853, in which Kern, though he still refers to his loss, has become able to supply such information, and does give it, quoting long extracts from his papers of 1846. The question then arises: "May not the papers have been found and restored to Kern, either in whole or in part, at some time between October of 1851 and March of 1853?" Either such must have been the case, or else the quotations from his 1846 records, as given in this present manuscript, must have been made from copies of the originals herein mentioned by him. And, if that be the explanation, it suggests the further inquiry: "Did he copy much or all of the original papers, and still possess those copies when the originals were abandoned?" The search instituted by him to recover the originals, and its long continuance from the winter of 1848–9 to a time later than October of 1851, would seem to indicate that he had no copies of the documents, although, of course, he or any man in his position would esteem the originals of such material far more than transcripts of them, especially if they were to be offered in historical form through print, as authoritative records.

All such queries and speculations, however, though fascinating and germane to the past unknown history of these documents, seem to defy answer. Here are all of them that have come to light, though among them are not to be found the two particular Papers from which Kern quotes in this letter to Gillespie, and which he obviously possessed either by recovery or in duplicate text in 1853. What has become of the two letters quoted, inconsequential though they were in comparison with others here embodied? The importance of many of the manuscripts contained in this assemblage—dealing, as they do, with certain events which then possessed and still retain an outstanding historical interest and sig-

nificance—make it apparent that the principal documents that constituted Kern's records have been preserved. Yet it is altogether likely—even if not certain—that there were still others of various sorts which would be of value for their detail, and whose finding would be greeted by the thank-offering of gratitude which is always laid before the Altar of Chance when such a discovery is made.

This letter to Gillespie likewise discloses (when analyzed in the light of historical research) a possible clue to the reason which impelled Kern to take his papers with him when he left the Fort in the spring of 1847. It will be observed that he speaks with somewhat of irritation or resentment when he relates General Kearny's manner of taking over the Fort and the General's failure to give him a receipt for the Government's horses transferred on that occasion. Now the details of the quarrel and clash of authority between Kearny and Fremont, which arose early in 1847 and eventually resulted in the court-martial of Fremont, are well known, and since Kern had long been a close associate of Fremont and primarily owed his preferment to the erstwhile explorer, it was but natural that he (Kern) should have bestowed his sympathies on Fremont in the altercation. (See Vol. XXXI, Introduction.)

But Kearny had given to Kern a far greater cause for enmity than was contained in the General's clash with the man whom Kern had accompanied across the continent. Kearny, in fact, had denounced as reprehensible the very work performed by Kern for which the Commander of Sutter's Fort had received Montgomery's unstinted praise—namely, the efforts by which Kern had raised volunteers in the Sacramento country for Fremont's California Battalion. In Kearny's report to the Government of March 15, 1847, he said: "They [the Mexicans] have been most cruelly and shamefully abused by our own people—by the volunteers raised in this part of the country and on the Sacramento. Had they not resisted, they would have been unworthy the name of men." Of course Kearny knew of Kern's active participation in the military procedure thus condemned, and (leaving aside the justice or injustice of Kearny's characterization) it was plainly impossible for the young Fort Commander to feel other than antagonistic toward the General and to resent the General's brusque attitude when Kearny came to the Fort and took charge of it.

In that state of affairs, we may safely assume, can be found (in part at least) the reason for Kern's action in keeping for himself and taking with him on his departure these papers which he had so painstakingly assembled, instead of leaving them to the doubtful care of the antagonistic Dragoon who bore the stars on his shoulders. Kern was under no injunction or obligation to preserve these records, nor was such work expected of him as part of his duties as Fort Commander. All he was required to do by Montgomery was to prepare and transmit documents of a character similar to the accounts, muster-rolls, pay-rolls, and requisitions for supplies, in order that the Fort expenses might at last be embodied by the Government in its total bill covering the cost of the war. Kern's duplicate papers and his other manuscripts were his own affair. He might with propriety, or with a greater degree of courtesy, have left them at the Fort, but he was under no military order or ethical obligation to do so, and was unquestionably animated by a strong personal sentiment which impelled him to the

contrary. So he carried them with him when he went away, and to his action on the day of his departure is due this contribution to the history of his country.

All these matters lie hidden within Kern's letter of March 11th, 1853, to Gillespie. Their recital illustrates the complex relationship that may subsist between a document and the conditions discussed or hinted by its text, but which association is often undiscoverable save by broad study of many other pieces and a detailed analysis of the era or events they deal with. That is why a multitude of related records, such as the Fort Sutter Papers, possesses a historical value which increases with their number in an almost geometric ratio.

Gillespie, when this letter was written, had risen to the rank of Major, and was engaged in Governmental work connected with the multitude of California claims arising out of the Conquest of 1846.

March 11th 1853

Dear Sir:-

In reply to your note asking information in regard to the number of families under my charge at Fort Sacramento (Sutter's Fort) during the War in California. I have to reply that there were 50 or 60 females and children to whom I issued rations of meat & flour & sometimes when it could be had, (in small quantities) Sugar, Tea & Coffee.

I cannot say positively of the number at Sonoma but I think there were more than at the fort. The number varied but never were less than I have stated above - In addition the families of (100 rations about) those of the Walla Walla Indians who joined the Battalion were also rationed; for my authority I send you extracts from order recd from Col Fremont & Capt Jno. Montgomery:

"Ship Sterling off Monterey Oct 22nd '46

Sir:-

Many of the emigrants who will come to us will necessarily have their families unprovided for & without supplies - I know that you have but little in the way of shelter to offer them, but please do for them in that respect all that you can; for any supplies that you may need, please send to Capt Leidesdorff (at Yerba Buena) who will forward them to you. I have already written him to that effect - tell Jean Drau (Gendreau) that I have directed the Walla Wallas who shall come to me to leave their families in his charge, & let him know that you will send to Yerba Buena for any supplies that the families may want...

Yours Truly
J.C.Fremont

Lt.E.Kern
Commg. Sac.Dist.

*** ****** ****** ***

U.S.Ship Portsmouth
San Francisco Nov 2 1846

Sir:-

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 28 ult. and can only now reply that you had

better make the provision for the families of Emigrants engaged in the service as proposed in your letter - Flour & meat to be furnished them, rendering an account of the same to Col Fremont - as it is contemplated I believe to take care of all families so situated.

I am Sir, &c.
J.B.Montgomery
Comg North Dept
California

Signed
Edw.M.Kerns
Comg. Fort Sacr.

P.S. I think we shall get at least 1200 horses for Col Fremont.

To your second query twould be hard for me to answer. I have had at one time 800 under my charge, the band varied from 4 to 800 - I kept them at a grazing camp & used them for the transportation of Recruits from my post to different parts of the Lower Country. Many of them were useless for this purpose, being wild brood mares: a good number of them taken from the Sonoma side, from the Rancho of Genl.Vallejo were National horses and branded with the Govt Iron of the Mission of San Rappael (Rafael) "T"- Genl.Kearny took possession of the whole band when he came to the Fort without receipting for them to me. there were then there as well as my memory serves me, (My papers having been lost in the Mountains in '48 & 9 with Fremont) about Five hundred head- What became of the balance after he had selected sufficient for his homeward journey I do not know.

The average price of Beef in my Dist was Ten Dollars per head, and as far as I know was the same throughout the country - I do not think of anything else that would be likely to aid you in the matter.

Very Respectfully & Truly yours
Edw. M. Kern
Mch 11/53

To
Maj.A.Gillespie
U. S. M. C.
Washington City
D. C.

The Fort Sutter Papers

The

Letters of Charles E. Pickett

to

Lieutenant Kern

In Denunciation of the Official Acts of

Hull and Mervine

and of

Existing Conditions in California

Yerba Buena and San Francisco
1846-1847

Introduction to Volume XXV

CHARLES E. PICKETT, the able, brilliant, and somewhat eccentric man who wrote these letters, was one of the first lawyers to practice his profession in California after the overthrow of Mexican rule, if, indeed, he was not the very first. He had previously lived in Oregon, and reached California in June of 1846, in the midst of the Bear Flag uprising, having come overland from the North.

He arrived at Sutter's Fort just after the Captives were taken there, and it was on that occasion he met Kern and formed the acquaintance which was afterward continued by this correspondence. While at the Fort he naturally came in contact with the Mexican prisoners, and secured the lifelong appreciation and gratitude of General Vallejo by his courtesy to that incarcerated officer.

Continuing on to San Francisco, Pickett established himself there and plunged at once into the hurly-burly of affairs then prevailing. The civic, military, and social confusion attendant on the Bear Flag Revolt, the ensuing war, and the later period of readjustment, formed an atmosphere exactly fitted to Pickett's abilities and controversial character, and he became one of the marked figures of the kaleidoscopic community. Pickett's likes, dislikes, and spirit of American patriotism were highly developed; his ability to express himself was equally pronounced; and his inclination to proclaim his views completed a triumvirate of qualities which continually involved him in controversies and quarrels of all sorts, one of which was later to have exceedingly grave consequences.

His first letter to Kern—that of October 2d—falls far short of revealing him in the full measure of those attributes just enumerated. It merely indicates his aversion to the Mormons, toward whom there existed a pronounced general public dislike. But his second missive, here catalogued as Manuscript Number 100, shows his genius for controversy in its full dimensions. By the date of its writing (January 14th of 1847) he was approaching the zenith of his career as a social fire-brand in San Francisco.

Pickett's quarrels with Alcalde Bartlett, acting Alcalde Hyde, and with Hull (who had succeeded Montgomery in the Naval Command) were in full swing, and it is to those matters that he refers. The *Yerba Buena Star,* which was the town's first newspaper, had begun its existence only five days before (January 9th) and Pickett had put his card as a lawyer in its advertising columns. But in addition to that action he had contributed articles to the newspaper under the pseudonym "Yerba Buena," in which he accused Mayor Bartlett of misappropriating the town's funds. Naturally the charge produced an uproar, and the to-do caused by it was further increased by additional articles in which "Yerba

Buena" declared that acting Mayor Hyde had shown disrespect for the majesty of the law by smoking in the presence of the courts. As Pickett puts it in his letter (Manuscript Number 100), the temple of justice had been "degraded to the lowest depths of infamy and disgrace."

Bartlett responded with a demand upon Hull for an investigation of the charge against him, which inquiry was duly authorized and made, and Bartlett was exonerated.

Up to this time the civic affairs of San Francisco were still controlled by Hull and Mervine, the Naval Officers, and dissatisfaction with their administration did exist, as Pickett declares. He calls the two naval men "brainless bipeds," characterizes their governmental acts as "infernal, rascally, illegal and high-handed proceedings," and asserts that the flag has been stained with dishonor.

In the third letter of the series (Manuscript Number 101, dated February 14th) it will be seen that Pickett reverts to the name "San Francisco" in his date line. That appellation had already been given to the town in official naval correspondence (see Montgomery's letter to Kern of October 21st previous, which is Manuscript Number 70), but there was an influential section of its people who still stood strongly for "Yerba Buena." Nevertheless, Mayor Bartlett had issued a proclamation on January 23d of 1847 saying that the city was thereafter to be known as San Francisco. The *Star* newspaper held out for a short time against the innovation, but finally resigned itself to the inevitable. Pickett did likewise, as his letter of February 14th shows. It, like its predecessor, is a fierce attack on the government provided by Hull. The men in authority on shore, under naval supervision, are denounced as a "lousy, ignorant crowd" whose iniquitous acts may "blow them all to hell."

This fight, conducted by Pickett and others who sided with him against the continued domination of the Navy,—the exceedingly outspoken and virulent character of which is here so clearly illustrated,—was destined to be successful. On February 17th, only three days after the date of the letter under review, Hull proclaimed the abdication of naval rule and the establishment of genuine civic authority on shore.

Pickett's last letter deals with the abuse of him published by the *Oregon Spectator* in his former northern home; speaks of his appointment as Indian Agent for Oregon; and asks Kern to inform the President, on his return to the East, that the proffered place is refused.

In 1848 Pickett opened a store at Sutter's Fort, where he had first met Kern, and there, in a quarrel, he killed Isaac Alderman. Pickett was put on trial twice, and on the second trial he was acquitted.

(Manuscript Number 100)

San Francisco 2d Oct 1846

Mr E. Kern
D.Sir:-

Will you be kind enough to send down the package of letters I left with you to be forwarded to Oregon- care Capt Grimes this place. I presume your despatches will acquaint you of the news stirring here which is various & contradictory. Portsmouth & Congress will both perhaps leave soon - a day or two. Mormons at large again & will be all disbanded soon. I am now on a jury Bran(n)an debt(?) I cannot write more as my name is called.

Yours Respectfully
C. E. Pickett

To
Edward M. Kern Esq
Commander
Fort Sacramento
California.

(Manuscript Number 101)

Dear Kern:-

Your favor of the 5th is at hand, and I am sorry my mind is not as free from trouble as yours, in order to answer you in the same humorous strain. We are in a perfect ferment, and ready for mutiny, or any thing else to change the present state of affairs, and get rid of our web footed rulers, who are about as much fitted for the command they have on shore in this country, as a porpoise, or the horse that one of the tyrants of old times, made governor of a province.

You thought Montgomery not the best man in the world for Commander & Gov. of the Northern District of California, but he was a General and Statesman compared with the two brainless bipeds now holding his command. I say the two, for a sort of diumvirate now exists - Hull has the titles but Old Mervine is ashore half his time ordering & directing, and many warm and animated debates is had daily amongst citizens, as well as officers, as to who is Commander. In fact both Hull & Mervine themselves, confess they dont know (which does not in the least surprise me) who ought to be head - Mervine ranking him in the Navy) - so to compromise matters, they take it turn about, Hull doing all the small jobs, that Mervine does not happen to notice or care for attending to.

The Sanchez & Bartlett war is over, the former asserting that, he and his friend were merely on their own hook, to defend their cattle & other property from being stolen, by Uncle Sam's high Minded & chivalrous officers and citizens.- They had no flag, and I doubt not what they say; and glory in their spunk.

The Volunteers at the Pueblo talk of no longer heeding any commands from here, having been worried & disgusted to such a degree, and if necessary for defense will set up a garrison at Santa Clara on their own hook.

I have not room to write you all the infernal rascally ignorant illegal & high handed proceedings on the part of our Civil & Military men here. I only assert, and will prove it hereafter that our flag has been stained with dishonor and our temple of justice degraded and prostituted to the lowest depths of infamy & disgrace. The only consolation in all this is that

they have got by the ear themselves. A great rumpus was kicked up at the Surrender of Sanchez's Army - (Worse by far they say than old Falstaff's) between our folks and a bloody termination mighty near happening - tis not all over yet.

Jones and myself are expecting to be challenged every day, or swung to the yard arm, one, for insulting our officers & the navy generally. Old Hull demanded the author of the pieces signed "Yerba Buena", & on learning it was me, told Jones he must issue a paper next day in order to apologize. O Cracky! Jones told him he would consider on it - has written old Hull a note about interfering with the liberties of the Press &c and put the poor weak soul in a peck of trouble, he curses the lawyers all to hell, & says they make the whole of the trouble and disturbance.

I suspect from the tone of your letter (and am sorry for you) that some fair one has been unkind & not presented front to meet your bayonet charge. Dont dispair old fellow, but at 'em again - "better luck next time" - "no use in crying" -why dont you rent that barren field up there & try wheter your seed will sprout, as I know the soil is quite anxious to fruitify & raise a crop. I fact you will be defended by our preemption laws in jumping the whole claim, as the original settler on it, has probably abandoned it, and stuck his stake elsewhere.

Yours ever
C. E. Pickett

P.S. As for that $10. you need not trouble yourself to put it in your report now, as I mentioned your receipting it for me, only because I was a little vexed at the time in being so treated about what Government owes me $300., which I much wanted. The sum is too trifling to cause any derangement in your accounts by crediting now.

C. E. P.

My respects to Mrs Montgomery & the rest of the folks.

To
Capt E. Kern
Ft. Sacramento.

(Manuscript Number 102)

San Fran. Cal
14th Feby 1847

Dear Capt:-

You(r) much esteemed - but unreadable favor got to hand in due time, and I return it that you may write it over for me; as I always wish to preserve for my children the correspondence of their Pop with his old friends.

Every thing is still disjointed and helter-skelter and no body as yet knows whether Martial law is in force or not. The torries or Hullites, or more properly Hellites, are a little flustrated at the idea of catspaw leaving with his ship in a few days. The villains will be put to it to get another official tool to work their iniquitous schemes with - And strange to say they seem ignorant of the mine & magazine they themselves have placed under their feet, which is destined ere long to blow them all to hell.

Lieut Tansill now in command here is a free, liberal and intelligent fellow - a genuine one I assure you, and from the first landing in California from the Dale, he has denounced the mad & high handed schemes carried on here by his brother officers, as does every body of sense & honesty.

The late organization & appointment of officers, has given disgust & created a bitter spirit of opposition to the acts of Stockton & crew, throughout the land than yet felt and you know it was bad enough before. Even Stockton's friends in the Navy are now out against him, and say he is mad, crazy & beside himself.

Bryant & Hastings got up yesterday from below & represent all Fremont's army & every foreigner down there to be in no amiable mood. Indeed but little more and the web-footed gentry would be ordered from the country & have to leave nolens volens.

What a Godsend if this had been done five months ago. Poor California & some brave lives

lost, would, had this been, be now rejoicing under the peacible & protecting care of the Star Spangled banner.

Tell my & your Magisterial friend, that like most other men from his section of our Union, he is quite ignorant of the stuff thats in a man of genuine principles, and of deeds he would dare do & the risks run, in opposing tyranny & falsehood. Say to him that is but a sprinkling of what I have done to some of these petty scoundrels here, that I have told them to their teeth of their rascality, have written some flaming articles whilst in my Prison denouncing the whole fraternity & their wrong course but which Jones would not publish. Tell him I would not only dare all the power of man, the devil & hell in opposing falsehood and giving utterance to truth; but would march boldly to the very throne of the great Jehovah, and demand justice & the sway of right.

I see two ships of war in this morning, the Erie & Cyane I suppose. The Savannah will go to day.

I wish you and Sutter, as you have but little else to do, to write me all about the Indians of the Sacramento & San Joaquin, their population, number of rancheros- the way they have ever behaved themselves & been treated by the Whites. All the particulars about Fremont's Massacre, together with a rough map of the Country-sizes of the Valley- proportion of Yuba-barren plain, hills, good arable land, &c - also length of Sacramento and other rivers. Mark the distances on the map and all the names well.

Tell Peter Assiboine I wish him to send me that map of South Oregon he promised. Send me down some of your drawings for copying samples.

Are you in the line of promotion, civil or military. You talk of leaving Othello's occupation. I think you are right, it is not suitable to your genius, and besides it is too much disgraced here now for a man of your mould

to damn himself in. I am so disgusted with the low scheming cunning & trickery by our shirt-tail-out Mountebank office seekers- that nothing insults me more than for a man to tell me I am after an office & am vexed to think I cant get one. As to getting one, the people of this place will elect me to any I want thats in their power to give but I would scorn to be caught in such louzy ignorant crowd as are officiating.

You will yet learn who the editor of the Star is- if you dont believe when I tell you he is the very worst and most dangerous man in all California; an unprincipled scheemer & plotter of the same order but worse in character than Machiavelli. His whole soul is devoted to making money & gaining fame & political preferment - to do this he would trample on the neck of friends, father & brothers. Why think you he wont publish any communications? Do you take?

Yours ever
C. E. Pickett

P.S. I send you some paper to write on.

P.S. (2) How do you like the appointment of your friend Russell & Larkin. Thought you would have been Secy(?) Though you have not yet studied sufficiently the art of soft soaping and backside licking to get California offices.

To
E.M.Kern,Esq.

(Manuscript Number 103)

San Francisco California
12th Nov. 72 A.R.

My dear Kern:-

I write this with the hope that you are still at Monterey- as you have it in your power to go by a better, shorter, quicker and cheaper route than your present proposed or unproposed one.

Judge Thornton has just arrived from Oregon on his way to Washington. The bark Whiton on which he came down stops here ten days or two weeks and then goes direct to Mazatlan - From thence to Panama are frequent conveyances- but to insure a passage quickly on, the Judge, as also Capt Folsom for him, writes to Governor Mason by this mail to offer himself as a bearer of dispatches home, which if assented to, will give him some authority to require of our Naval Commander at Mazatlan to facilitate his journey onward by sending a vessel especially for this purpose, should none be sailing soon.

Even should Governer Mason decline transmitting documents - you run but little risk of detention going this route, as the Commodore on that station frequently sends down to get the mails. In view of your going in the Whiton, I intended seeing Capt Gelston about the passage money, but he is not ashore to day. Judge Thornton, however thinks it will not be over fifty dollars to M(azatlan) which is

If you conclude to change berths, one of you had better come up immediately to make the bargain with Capt G. about calling in at Monterey for your baggage and the rest of your company. Toler & family will also go I presume.

I received some very unlooked for news from Oregon;-that I have been appointed Indian Agent for that Territory; the number of the Star I send acquaints you with my intentions in the matter. There is a very false and abusive article in a number of the Oregon Spectator respecting my appointment, but I am well aware from what clique that comes; and this party

inimical to me there has control of the paper. Tis not because of any opposition in Oregon to my filling the office, that I decline accepting, as the selection of any citizen in the Territory who has resided there as long as myself - even were he as wise as King Solomon, as pure & good as Jesus Christ and as brave as Julius Caeser would have been met in the same spirit. But I have several other & weighty objections to taking this post, of which you shall be made acquainted in time.

Should this find you in Monterey, and you decline going by Mazatlan, but continue on in the Shubrick (God knows where!) you can inform the President, or Walker of my resolve, provided my letters to them I shall send by Judge Thornton, do not get to Washington before you.

Ask Mr Toler if he received a letter I wrote him a week or two since, making inquiries respecting some of my relations, of whom I presumed he had some knowledge; and you or him send me an answer to it, in order that I may avail myself, of such information as can be given, in writing home by Judge Thornton.

I am in the habit of copying all my letters before they are fit to be sealed & sent off. The face of this however shows it to be an exception to this rule. I am not in the habit of making such school-boy excuses as this, but an apology is certainly due here. I look for the letter you promised from Monterey daily.

Yours ever
C. E. Pickett.

P.S. To Major King and Roubideau my kindest love and respects go.

To
E.M.Kern, Esq
Care Mr Longley
Monterey A(lta) C(al.)

The Fort Sutter Papers

The
Donner Party Tragedy

Papers Relating to

The Expeditions into the Mountains

and the

Rescue of the Starving Emigrants

together with the

Lists, Pay Rolls, and Rewards

of the Rescuers

as

Kept by Kern

at

Fort Sutter

New Helvetia
1847

Introduction to Volume XXVI

THE eleven manuscripts of this volume are Kern's records of the Donner Party tragedy, and contain previously unknown details relating to it.

That same strange destiny which had brought the young artist from the East and shaped his activities throughout the Bear Flag Revolution and the Conquest, had further need of him when his duties in the war were finished. Circumstances had dropped him in the exact geographical position necessary for his participation in rescue work which concluded the most dreadful story written in the annals of American overland travel—or perhaps in the records of travel on any continent. It had done even more than that, for, in addition, it had placed him in command at the spot in question.

The Donner Party of overland emigrants, who were trapped in the snows of the Sierras a comparatively short distance to the eastward of Sutter's Fort in the winter of 1846–7, consisted of thirty-six men, twenty-one women, and thirty children. Of these, no less than thirty-nine were doomed to die of starvation and exposure before their situation became known and Kern and others of the neighborhood were able to rescue them. The forty-eight survivors who were finally brought out from the mountains through the tremendous efforts made in their behalf were cared for at the Fort, and at ranches in the surrounding region, until restored to strength.

Already in these commentaries one member of the Donner Party has appeared in a dramatic light. That man was James F. Reed, who, on the night of October 28th, had been one of the signers of Bryant's Proposal (Vol. XV), and it was Reed who had brought the first—though not unduly alarming—news received by Kern of the emigrants' plight. When the Donner Party failed to arrive, and it was realized that winter had halted its further progress until spring, Kern and the others in the Sacramento Valley believed the emigrants would slaughter their oxen, and spend the interval in camp without undue hardship.

Such, however, was unhappily not the case. The party had been stopped at Truckee Lake, and there nearly all the cattle had been buried in a tremendous snow-storm. Nearly two months of starvation ensued, and then, on December 16th, a party of the imprisoned emigrants started in a desperate attempt to break through the mountains and get help. That party is known as "The Fifteen." It—with two Indian guides—left the Lake carrying scanty rations for six days, and thirty-two days of horror elapsed before its seven survivors finally descended into the Valley and reached Johnson's ranch. On Christmas day the Fifteen were halted by a storm and held for a week. Four died at that

spot, and their bodies were eaten by their companions. The strings of snow-shoes and the body of another who succumbed sustained life until January 7th. On that day the two emaciated Indian guides, who had refused to partake of human flesh, ran away, but were later overtaken, shot as they lay dying in the snow, and likewise eaten by the seven remaining men and women of the Fifteen. On January 10th or 11th they found an Indian's hut, and were there fed with the only food possessed by the red men, which was pounded acorns. During the next six days they were slowly aided forward by the Indians, until they at last reached Johnson's ranch. That was on the 17th. But the main party were still starving at the mountain camp, and of their situation it has been said (McGlashan's History of the Donner Party; Truckee, 1879, p. 91): "Nothing could be done toward relieving those at Donner Lake until help could arrive from Sutter's Fort."

It was to Kern at Sutter's Fort, therefore, that first news of the real situation was sent, with its dreadful and almost unbelievable details of necessary human cannibalism. The Bear River was in flood, and the whole Sacramento Plain was a vast quagmire forty miles wide. John Rhodes—whose name will be found in the Roll of Honor prepared by Kern, and contained in this volume—volunteered to be the messenger. He crossed the icy river on two logs bound together with rawhides, made his way across the valley on foot, through water sometimes from one to three feet deep, and reached the Fort. Kern's actions thereafter were swift and effective. He set about the organization of relief measures in which the most notable public men were Alcalde John Sinclair, Alcalde Bartlett of San Francisco, Maury, Captain Hull, Richardson, and others who figure prominently in these Papers. Sinclair lived about two miles from the Fort, and on his receipt of the news he sent a courier to Bartlett at San Francisco.

The fifth document in this volume, Manuscript Number 108, is particularly important both in the chronology of the Fort and in the history of the efforts made in behalf of the Donner Party's relief, since it establishes the priority of Kern's action in those endeavors. It should be borne in mind that the first knowledge of the actual situation was brought to the outside world by the remnant of the Fifteen, the survivors of which reached Johnson's ranch on January 17th. Rhodes certainly got to the Fort with the news soon after the 20th. Reed, who knew nothing of the real conditions back in the mountains, was at this period visiting various towns in an effort to stir up interest in the Donner Party's ultimate safety, and about February 1st he was in San Francisco on such a mission. There, on February 3d, a public meeting was held to discuss the subject of aiding the tardy emigrants during the coming spring, and a certain amount of response was obtained by Reed's appeal.

But on February 5th the courier arrived in San Francisco with Sinclair's message and the first news brought out by the remnant of the Fifteen, and hence it was not until that date that Governor Hull, Alcalde Bartlett, and other officials began their preparations for sending an immediate expedition into the mountains. That was at least six days after Kern had organized the First Relief, as shown by Manuscript Number 108. The document under discussion

fixes January 31st as the day on which the men of the First Relief commenced their service, and the list of men therein named is headed by Bruheim, who was Kern's first mail carrier. And all were "Under Command of Edw. M. Kern, U. S. V."

Edwin Bryant in his book ("What I Saw in California," N. Y., 1848, p. 255) discusses these matters and quotes a letter from George McKinstry on the subject (see also Vol. XXVII of these papers). McKinstry's letter says: "Captain E. Kern informed you of the men sent up from his place to the assistance of the sufferers when we were first informed of their situation," and McKinstry also said the names of those men "ought to be recorded in letters of gold." On Manuscript Number 108 the names are recorded in a still more precious way, for they are there set down in the writing of the man who assembled them, commanded them, and led them into the mountains.

It required about a week for Kern's party to secure necessary horses, gather provisions and reach Johnson's ranch, which was made a preliminary base for the relief work. Sinclair, as well as Kern, was very active in the preparations, and four of the documents here preserved (Numbers 104, 110, 113 and 114) are by him. Manuscript Number 110 is his own written list of the First Relief, together with a table showing the number of days during which each man of it risked his own life in the attempt to save the starving emigrants.

When the volunteers were about to start into the winter fastness, through obstacles never before—or since—successfully overcome by mountaineers, Sinclair spoke a few sober words to them. McGlashan, in his "History of the Donner Party" (p. 92) tells of Sinclair thus: "Sinclair had come up from the Fort, and when all were ready to begin the march he made them a thrilling little address. . . . Nothing could justify them in attempting so perilous an undertaking except the obligations due to their fellow men." Then the First Relief, bearing packs of food, vanished from the knowledge of man into a region of precipices, icy streams, storms, and treacherous snows from ten to thirty feet deep. That was on February 5th, and for two weeks they fought ahead over the eighty miles that led to Donner Lake, which was finally reached by seven of the rescuers on February 19th.

Meanwhile Governor Hull, and Bartlett, in San Francisco, had organized an expedition to coöperate with Kern's volunteers from the Fort. Hull sent men and provisions by Sutter's launch in charge of Lieutenant Woodworth, and they also made Johnson's ranch a base point. Thereafter, until long into April, the men under Kern and Woodworth struggled back and forth in unimaginable labors that finally resulted in the bringing out of forty-eight survivors.

Almost every one of the manuscripts here preserved bears significant relation to particular phases of this famous and memorable tragedy of suffering, starvation and cannibalism. Manuscript Number 104, for example, shows that on February 19th (the very day the First Relief reached the emigrants, and long before it emerged with the twenty-one souls then saved) Kern and Sinclair were

procuring material to make clothes for the surviving women of the Donner train.

Manuscript Number 105 is Kern's own draft of his report to Hull on March 7th, in which he speaks of coöperating with Woodworth, reports the return of the First Relief, and tells of the death of three emigrants while they were being brought out. This letter is significantly signed, "In haste."

Manuscript Number 106 is a document by Pinkney, who commanded at San Jose, in which he relates the insubordination of Jotham (here spelled Jonathan) Curtis to the party headed by Reed, who had earlier made an unsuccessful effort to reach the beleaguered camp. Thornton, in his book entitled "Oregon and California in 1848" (Vol. II, pp. 184–194), devotes ten pages to the circumstances with which this document deals. It will also be observed that Kern, in his detailed calculations of the work performed by and money due to each Relief worker (Manuscript Number 112), gives Curtis much prominence, only to cancel all the credit at first allotted to that strange man.

Manuscript Number 107 is a letter written by McKinstry, at the Fort, to Kern in the mountains, while the Lieutenant was still superintending the rescue work in March. Evidently Kern had left McKinstry temporarily in command. This letter also shows the coöperation of Kern and Woodworth, and contains an invoice of supplies sent forward for the use of the rescued emigrants. Even thread, needles, and calico for the women are included.

Manuscript Number 109 (Kern's April 25th copy of the pay roll for the Relief Volunteers) should be studied in connection with Sinclair's list of the First Relief (Manuscript Number 110) and Kern's detailed calculations embodied in Manuscript Number 112. One entry in the last-named document shows that William Thompson, of a later Relief, was to be rewarded with fifty dollars for saving "F. Donough" (by which is meant the little girl, Frances Donner). Another of Kern's entries on this paper records the supreme feat of courage, strength, endurance and resolution which characterized the weeks of rescue work. Kern awards John Stark fifty dollars "for bringing out John Graves." That Stark was a man of incredible strength and still more incredible determination, is shown by the fact that he actually carried not only Graves, but another man, from the Lake to the Sacramento Valley (see McGlashan's History, p. 156).

But the most dramatic entry on any of the documents is the apparently insignificant and unimportant line written by Sinclair on one of his bits of green paper (Manuscript Number 110), which reads: "One coverlid left with Mr. Denton valued at $20.00." During the return struggle of the First Relief with its twenty-one weakened charges, an emigrant named John Denton found he could go no farther, and fell down. The others halted and urged him to try once more. Their plea was in vain. Denton's strength was done, and he told them to go on without him. So they built him a fire, left some food beside him, wrapped a coverlid around him, and said good-by. This little line by Sinclair tells of the bestowal of that last earthly protection upon John Denton

when he was left in the mountains to die, and specifies its value. His body was found by the Second Relief, still wrapped in the coverlid valued at twenty dollars, and beside him, written on the leaf of a memorandum book in the final hours before his death, was one of the beautiful poems of the language. It was preserved by Woodworth, was first published in the California *Star* soon afterward, and was later reprinted in the volumes of both Thornton and McGlashan. The coverlid doubtless served as Denton's winding sheet, but there is nothing to show whether Tucker was ever paid for it or not.

The final papers (Manuscript Numbers 113 and 114) are by Sinclair, and relate to the furnishing of flour, cloth and other supplies.

The last relief party to reach the camp of the emigrants was that headed by Fallon, the Irish Trapper. Keseberg, the only living emigrant they found, according to Fallon's account was literally surrounded in his cabin by partially devoured human remains, and when reached was cooking a kettle full of such food. Keseberg afterward denied in part the statements of Fallon and Coffeemire, and historians of a later period, including Bancroft (see History of California, Vol. V, p. 542) and McGlashan (pp. 164–73), have exonerated him of the charge that he committed murder upon women and children in order to eat their flesh. He did admit to McGlashan in 1879, however, that he boiled and ate bodies of his fellow emigrants who had already died of starvation. (See also Vol. XXX of these Papers, in which McKinstry refers to Keseberg as the "man-eater.")

That such cannibalism did take place in the camp of the starving emigrants was indubitably established. General Kearny visited the scene of the tragedy while on his return march to the East in June of 1847, and, as already stated in these commentaries, he was accompanied by Fallon and Edwin Bryant. Bryant knew Fallon, talked with the guide, believed him, and in his book relates what Fallon told him and describes the spectacle which he beheld at the camp in June. Bryant also met and talked with various survivors of the Donner Party. In discussing Kearny's visit Bryant says ("What I Saw in California," p. 263): "When the return party of Gen. Kearny, which I accompanied, reached the scene of these horrible and tragical circumstances, on the 22d of June, 1847, a halt was ordered for the purpose of collecting and interring the remains. Near the principal cabins I saw two bodies, entire, with the exception that the abdomens had been cut open, and the entrails extracted. . . . Strewn around the cabins were dislocated and broken bones—skulls (in some instances sawed asunder with care for the purpose of extracting the brains), human skeletons, in short, in every variety of mutilation. A more revolting and appalling spectacle I never witnessed."

These remains were buried in one common pit, and then, by military order, all the cabins and every other relic of the sufferings that had occurred there were consumed by fire.

Such, in brief, is a synopsis of the most gruesome disaster that attended the overland migrations to California, and with which these present papers deal.

It was Kern's lot to be the nearest man in authority when the need for succor became known, and to him and those under his command was due the rescue of all who were saved. Without the supreme bravery and efforts that leaped into being when John Rhodes brought the news to Sutter's Fort, every member of the Donner Party must inevitably have perished.

(Manuscript Number 104)

Rancho del Paso Feby 19th 1847

E.M.Kern, Esq.
Dear Sir:-

Having no Calico I send you something else the name of which I do not know the price is seventy five cents per Vara and the quantity seven Varas, and one and a half Varas Mareta for trimmings fifty cents per Vara -

I have Calico at fifty cents but no White women would wear it -

Yours respectfully
J.Sinclair

To
E. M. Kern, Esq.

(Manuscript Number 105)

Bear Creek March 7th 1847

Sir:-

Enclosed I send you a petition from the Settlers in the upper part of this district in relation to the ourtages committed by the Indians - it is signed by the major part of the Settlers.

I have called into service a portion of the troops stationed at the Fort, untill I can inquire into the case and settle it. I have no doubt of the truth of statement, as they are hostile here having killed a horse in our Mountain Camp. I was absent from camp when it happened having gone up the mountains with horses, to bring out the emigrants, the animals were feeding close to camp when one was shot, and five driven off, the guard being in to breakfast. Mr Neal, the person in charge of camp discovered the wounded horse, and missing others, went in search, with two men, and two Indians from a neighboring Village as guides. The Indians showing fight one was killed.

I shall return today to our camp to arrange the things left in my charge by Lieut Woodworth, he having left several days ago to carry supplies to the suffering people.

The party sent out from the Fort deserve great credit for their perseverance in rescuing so many from starvation. Seven of the men went all the way through, & started from camp with 21 souls, three of which died on the road, one from overeating. The remainder have all arrived safe to this point and are doing well.

We expect a return party from Mr Reed's Company tomorrow or next day, at Mule Springs.

In haste
Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Servt
Edward M.Kern
Comg. Sac dist.

To
Capt Joseph B.Hull
Comg Northern Dist
California

(Manuscript Number 106)

(Pueblo de San Jose Jany 29,1847)

I certify, that Mr James F.Reed complained to me, that Jonathan Curtis, a U. S. Voluntier, who was then subject to his orders, was insubordinate and abusive, and that, I, consequently, I ordered him to be discharged.

R.F.Pinckney
Comg U.S.Forces at
Pueblo San Jose

(Manuscript Number 107)

Fort Sacramento March 8th '47

Dear Kern:-

Yours of the 7th ult came to hand last night this morning I have had all the packs made out and will send them over the American fork this evening so that the boys can start at Sunrise tomorrow. I send Mr Glover to take charge of the company untill they meet you, and afterwards to take charge of the Camp. I send two boys off this evening with the letter so that you can meet the packs at Johnsons and stop such articles as you may want to use there, as I shall give Mr Glover orders not to deliver any thing but to yourself or Lieut Woodworth.

The following is Invoice of articles sent -

600 lbs Flour	3 ps Calico
60 " Coffee	4 " Bro Sheetings
68 " Sugar	1 " Flannel
49 1/2 lbs Pork	1 Lot thd & Needles

I will write by Glover.

Yours truly
Geo. McKinstry. Jr.

To
(E.M.Kern
Bear Creek Mountain Camp)

(Manuscript Number 108)

Pay Roll of Men employed in expedition to California Mountains under Command of Edw. M. Kern, U.S.A.

Names	Commencement of Service.	Expiration. of Service.	No of Days Service.	Pay per Diem	Total Amt.
- Adolph Bruheim	Jan 31	Mar 19	48	$1.50	$72.00
* R.S.Moutey	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00
* Aquila Glover	Jan 31	Mar 14	43	3.00	129.00
* Joseph Sel	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00
* Edward Copymeyer	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00
* Daniel Rhodes	Jan 31	Mar 9	39	3.00	117.00
* John Rhodes	Feb 5	Mar 15	39	3.00	117.00
* R. P. Tucker	Feb 5	Mar 15	39	3.00	117.00
# Wm. D.Ritchie	Feb 5	Feb 23	19	1.50	28.50
# Edw. Pyles, Sr.	Feb 20	Mar 11	19	1.50	28.50
# Edw. Pyles, Jr.	Feb 20	Mar 19	27	1.50	40.50

- Employed in butchering and assisting in carrying provisions from Johnsons to Bear V.

* Employed in carrying provisions to the Camp of the Suffering Emigrants, and bringing Twenty one Souls in to Sacramento Valley.

Employed in carrying supplies to meet the above party.

(Manuscript Number 109)

Pay Roll of the Men employed in the Expedition California Mountains under command of Edw. M. Kern, U. S. V.

Names	Commencement. of Service.	Expiration. of Service.	No. of Days Service	Pay per diem.	
Adolph Bruheim	Jan 31	Mar 19	48	$1.50	$ 72.00
R.S.Moutry	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00
Aquila Glover	Jan 31	Mar 14	43	3.00	129.00
Joseph Sel	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00
Edward Cophymeyer	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00
Danl Rhodes	Jan 31	Mar 9	39	3.00	117.00
John Rhodes	Feb 5	Mar 15	39	3.00	117.00
R.P.Tucker	Feb 5	Mar 15	39	3.00	117.00
Wm.D.Ritchie	Feb 5	Feb 23	19	1.50	28.50
Edw. Pyles, Sr.	Feb 20	Mar 11	19	1.50	28.50
Edw. Pyles, Jr.	Feb 20	Mar 10	27	1.50	40.50

(Manuscript Number 110)

R.P.Tucker	39	days	services	5	Feb	15 March
W.D.Ritchie	19	"	"	"	"	23
John Rhodes	32	"	"	5	"	15
D.Rhodes	31	"	"			
A.Glover	31	"	"			
~~George-Tucker~~	19	"	"			
Curtis	000	"	"			
Joseph Sell	38	"	"			

Mr Tucker one Coverlid left with Mr Denton valued @ $20 dollars.

March 22
  Bows & arrows $4.00

April 3
  2 days work 2.00
  4 1/2 @ 1.00 4.50

(Manuscript Number 111)

Pay Roll of the Men Employed in Expedition to California Mountains under Command of Edward M. Kern, U.S.V.

	Commencement. of Service.	Expiration. of Service.	No Days Service.	Pay per Diem	Total Amt of Pay	
Adolph Brueheim	Jan 31	Mar 19	48	$1.00	$ 48.00	
R. S. Moutry	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00	
Aguila Glover	Jan 31	Mar 14	43	3.00	129.00	
Joseph Sel	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00	
Edward Coffeemeyer	Jan 31	Mar 5	34	3.00	102.00	
Danl. Rhodes	Jan 31	Mar 2	39	3.00	117.00	
John Rhodes	Feb 5	Mar 15	39	3.00	117.00	
R.P.Tucker	Feb 5	Mar 15	39	3.00	117.00	
Wm.D.Ritchie	Feb 5	~~Feb-23~~	19	1.00	19.00	753.
Edw. Pyles, Jr.	Feb 20	Mar 10	19	1.50	27.00	
Edw. Pyles, Sr.	Feb 20	Mar 19	28	1.50	42.00	69.
			367			822
						104
						$926.

Tucker	39
Ritchie	19
Pyles	19
do	28
J.Rhodes	39
Rhodes	32
Glover	43
Sel	34

(various script calculations cover original sheet)

Wm. Thompson

Fifty nine days Services @ $3.00	$177.00
For bringing out F.Donough.	50.00
	$227.00

To 1 Shirt
" 1 pr Drawers
" 1 pr Trowsers
" 1 Blanket
" 1 pr Stockings
" 1 Comforter.

Entered Feb 10 at Sonoma up to April 9th 1847.

John Stark

Thirty-nine days Services @ $3.00	$117.00
For bringing out John Graves	50.00
	$167.00

1 Comforter
1 pr Stockings

Entered March 2nd up to April 9th 1847.

Edward Pyles, Jr.

For 19 days Services in Cal Mts. @ $3.00	$ 57.00
For packing Child 2 days ---	

To 1 pr Drawers

From Feb 20 to 10 March inclusive

Edward Pyles, Sr.

R.P.Tucker

For 13 days Services @ $3.00	$39.00
For use of Wagon	35.00
	$74.00

To 1 Red Shirt

Johnson

Thirty-eight lbs of Flour furnished Emigrants for Subsistence while at his house	$ 3.84

Foster

200 lbs flour furnished first party to Mountains
@ $8.00 per 100 $16.00

John Rhodes

For 13 days Services @ $3.00 $39.00
For 3 Services entered by Greenwood.

Jos. Sel

For 16 days up to 10 April @ $3.00 $48.00

Jothium H.Curtis

27 days service in the Mountain expedition $81.00

1 Buffalo Rug	4.00
3 Tin Buckets	9.00
2 Tin Cans	1.50
Damages Bed Beding	10.00
~~Wagon-Covers~~	
Some clothing Damaged	5.00
Jug & Wag. Grease	3.00
Spade	1.00
	$35.50

Cophemeyer

60 days Services @ $3.00 $204.00

1 F.Shirt
1 pr Drawers
1 pr Stockings
Last day of Jany to 9th of April

(Manuscript Number 113)

Lieut Woodworth
Dear Sir:-

Mr Sicard requests me to certify for 285 pounds of flour which was received when I was up there and sent out to the Suffering Emigrants - The 156 pounds of Flour we will see into that to morrow.

Yours very respectfully
J.Sinclair

(Manuscript Number 114)

Rancho del Paso 22nd June 1847

E.M.Kern, Esq
To John Sinclair Dr

1847

Jany 15	To	1 Bottle Mixed Pickles	1.50
	"	1 Box Matches	.50
Feby 19	"	1 1/2 Yds Brown Cotton	.75
	"	1 Dress Pattern	5.25
April 16	"	1 Lb. Tobacco	.50
			$8.50

Received Payt.
John Sinclair

The Fort Sutter Papers

The
Letter Written by McKinstry
Temporarily in Command at Sutter's Fort

and Sent to

Lieutenant Kern in the Mountains

During the

Rescue of the Donner Party

in which

McKinstry Strangely Comments

on the

"Man-Eating Women"

Fort Sacramento

1847

Introduction to Volume XXVII

THIS letter, written by George McKinstry, has a close relation to the Manuscripts of the preceding volume in the circumstances under which it was written and in some of its contents.

McKinstry was one of the overland emigrants who reached California in 1846. He possessed and speedily showed certain qualities of executive ability and leadership which were particularly useful under the conditions then existing, and because of those traits he speedily became the first Sheriff of the Northern District under the naval administration of the Territory, with his headquarters at Sutter's Fort. In such manner he was brought into close touch with Kern, and the evidence shows that he won the approbation and friendship of the young military commander.

It is quite apparent from this manuscript that when Kern left the Fort with his men of the First Relief to go to the mountains in an effort to rescue the Donner Party, he put Sheriff McKinstry in charge at Sacramento as his substitute while absent. The letter here preserved is a report of affairs at the Fort made by McKinstry to Kern while the Lieutenant was busy in the mountains on his mission of relief, and several of the matters discussed in it are closely linked with the contents of various other documents embodied in the Fort Sutter Papers.

In the opening paragraph McKinstry informs his Commander of the arrival of a Petition in which the settlers of the upper Sacramento Valley appeal to Kern for help. The original petition to which reference is here made is contained in Volume XXI as Manuscript Number 82, wherein the settlers recite the attacks to which they are subjected by hostile Indians, and ask for immediate succor and military protection.

The "F. Gindrou" of whom McKinstry speaks in his report was François Gendreau, a French-Canadian, who was in Sutter's employ in 1845, who commanded a company of Indian Volunteers under Fremont in 1846, and who, during the Bear Flag uprising, had charge of the captured horses (see Vol. X, Manuscript Number 34). Evidently Gendreau had just returned from the south upon the completion of the military campaign in that quarter, and bore news that Fremont would also soon be back in the north. The letter to Kern from Quartermaster Snyder, to which McKinstry refers, is the document listed as Manuscript Number 81 in Volume XX of these papers.

It is apparent from this letter by McKinstry that Aquilla Glover, who was a member of the Donner First Relief, had just reached the Fort from the moun-

tains with various messages from Kern and Woodworth, and news of the progress being made in rescuing the emigrants. The Sheriff speaks of having forwarded the reports to Captain Hull, by way of Sonoma, and says they were carried thence by two of the members of the Fort Garrison. This method of transmitting the messages was due, without question, to the fact that Bruheim, Kern's first postman, was also absent in the mountains as a member of the Donner Relief.

Glover—who had been in personal contact with the twenty-one members of the Donner Party rescued by the First Relief, and who had also beheld with his own eyes the horrors of the camp at the lake—undoubtedly brought to McKinstry a tale of the dreadful things seen and heard in the mountains, and this letter reflects the story that Glover had carried to him. Perhaps the comment with which McKinstry concludes his letter was in some degree due to incredulity on his part, and, in some added measure, due to an outcropping of that brutality and roughness often visible among men who live and work amid pioneer conditions, particularly during periods of human conflict. It was doubtless hard for McKinstry to believe, at first, that women of his own kind should eat human flesh. To such a state of mind may be attributed his cynical and jocular remark about the "man-eating women" against whom he sends warning.

(Manuscript Number 115)

Dear Kern:-

Enclosed I send you copy of petition from Citizens in the upper Valley, the Original I have put with your papers in your office. It was brought down by John Williams and Sam Smith and arrived here at Sundown yesterday and as they appear to think their "Sufferings is intolerable and cries alloued for relief" I have thought proper to send you the document by two of the Soldiers as you may think it necessary to leave your Mountain Camp and return to your Station on the banks of the Sacramento.

I received Lieut Woodworth's letter by Mr. Glover and the next day sent two of the Soldiers to Sonoma with letters for Capt J. B. Hull reporting progress in the Mountain Affair.

Nothing particularly interesting has transpired here since you left. Tom Hill & Co., the Walla Wallas and the G...s Horse Thieves, have returned "from the Wars with their A...covered with Scars &c" (Poetry) Thos Hill sports his fine 150$ Saddle with much grace and says that White men think him big man below gave him plenty Rum plenty drunk. They were twenty days coming up.

I have not been able to learn much from F. Gindrou, he says Fremont and his party will be here before long but when he left they had not heard of the arrival of the New Commodore; they brought but one letter for you and that was from Snyder the Quartermaster ordering you to receive Thirty Horses from the Horse Thive Indians Mr "Joseph Jesus" the Capt has sent up word by the Walla Wallas that he will be here in a week.

I copied and sent your letter to Col Fremont by Cordua, and requested Jones to forward as soon as possible.

I am sorry to disturb you in your agreeable Camp and wish I could be with you in a week or two. Should you return leave a letter for Woodworth and tell him to hurry <u>home</u> (the Fort) I advise you both to look out for those <u>Man</u> eating Women, from what I can learn from Glover they prefer that kind of meat in larger than <u>Nine inch</u> pieces too.

If you leave in haste you can leave this sheet for Woodworth.

Yours Truly,
G.McKinstry, Jr.

To
E.M.Kern
(Mountain Camp, Bear Creek)

The Fort Sutter Papers

Doctor Semple's Certification

that the

Bear Flag Party of July 1, 1846

Sent under his Command

To Spike the Mexican Guns

at

Yerba Buena on that Day

Was Directed

By the Order of Fremont

and that

Henry Smith was a Volunteer

on that Occasion

Yerba Buena

1847

Introduction to Volume XXVIII

PERHAPS no other one man among all the diverse personalities who played their parts in the events of 1846 exceeded Robert Semple in picturesque personal qualities. In his physical proportions he was almost a giant, being nearly seven feet in height, and when arrayed in his habiliments of the open country he was an awe-inspiring embodiment of America's lost frontier life such as no fiction has ever surpassed. A word-portrayal of him in such garb has fortunately been preserved. It was written by Captain William D. Phelps, of the bark *Moscow,* and described him as "a lank, Kentucky-looking chap, dressed in greasy deer-skin hunting shirt, with trousers to match, which terminated just below the knees, and his head surmounted by a coon-skin cap."

Such was the author of this document in outward appearance. He was, however, something more than an eye-filling spectacle. He was an orator of great power, a practical printer, a soldier, a politician, a dreamer, and a man of business affairs. He was Secretary of the Bear Flag Party, author of the Articles of Capitulation written at Sonoma, publisher of the first newspaper printed in the Territory, and President of the First California Constitutional Convention. After all of which he fell from his horse and was killed thereby at the age of 48.

Semple came to California with the Hastings party of 1845, and very soon thereafter identified himself with that part of the population who sought to wrest the region from Mexican control. Hence when the Bear Flag Party was formed it was but natural that he—with his abilities and qualities of leadership and influence—should be found as a prominent member of that organization. He was one of the group who captured Sonoma, and when the armed band surrounded General Vallejo's house it was the huge Semple, accompanied by Merritt (and with William Knight as interpreter), who entered the home of the Mexican commander to conduct the first negotiations that led to the acquisition of California.

The others, waiting outside, became impatient and deputized William B. Ide to go within and discover what was taking place. Ide entered and found Semple giving the final modifying touches to his "Articles of Capitulation." The waiting group, upon hearing the terms which Semple had offered to the Mexicans, thought them entirely too mild, and refused at first to join in their ratification, voicing, rather, a desire for plunder. It was Semple's eloquence on this occasion that won them over, and held them back from lawlessness or any outrage.

Again, after the Captives of Sonoma had been taken into custody and were about to depart under guard for Fremont's camp, it was Semple who made

another address counselling united action and moderation in the treatment of the natives. (See Bancroft's History, Vol. V, p. 117.) And it was Semple who, with Grigsby, Merritt, Hargrave, Knight, and a few others, took the Captives to Fremont.

The facts attested in this document (Manuscript Number 116) have to do with an event that happened on July 1st, only a few days later than the activities just mentioned. After delivering the prisoners Semple was busy in aid of Fremont, and it was to Semple's leadership that Fremont entrusted the enterprise of July 1st, concerning which its commander here speaks. That duty was the spiking of the Mexican cannon at Yerba Buena, an act successfully accomplished. This manuscript, therefore, is possibly the only known document which embodies proof that Fremont took upon himself the command of the insurrectionary activities even before he was formally placed in command of the Bear Flag Party by the meeting held at Sonoma on July 4th or 5th. Bancroft states (Vol. V, p. 179) that it was at the Sonoma convention "that Fremont was put in command of the insurgent forces." But Semple testifies in the paper here contained that the explorer was actually in command, and sending forth warlike parties, on July 1st.

Later in July Semple joined Fauntleroy's Dragoons (Vol. VIII, Introduction), with which he served for some weeks. Finally, in August, and in partnership with Walter Colton (who first appeared on the scene as Naval Chaplain of the *Congress,* and was made Alcalde of Monterey) he established California's first newspaper. Colton described his remarkable partner as "true with the rifle, ready with his pen, and quick at the type case." The idea of the publication was Semple's, and the equipment used was the primitive old press and type formerly belonging to Augustin Zamorano, and by him sold to the Mexican Government years before.

The types had to be scoured with a brush before the faces of the letters emerged from beneath their coating of dirt. The only paper obtainable was a small quantity of poor Mexican foolscap found on a coasting vessel, and on it, with the utensils named, Semple and Colton printed the first number of the *Californian* on August 15, 1846. It was issued weekly thereafter until May of 1847, when it was transferred to San Francisco.

When Semple and the paper moved to San Francisco he became engrossed with Larkin in planning a future city at Benicia, and also—according to Colton—spent much time in trying to find a wife. The real-estate plans were not very successful, but a ferry across the strait which he established in 1848 brought him much money. In 1849 he was elected a member of the First Constitutional Convention, and by that body was chosen as its President. Five years later, in 1854, when Semple was but 48 years old, occurred the accident that terminated the career of this remarkable man.

(Manuscript Number 116)

Yerba Buena Jan. 7th 1847

I hereby Certify that Henry Smith joined a party which was sent out by Col. Fremont under my charge at Yerba Buena on the first of July 1848, as a Volunteer, that he continued in the service faithfully during my command and that he was transferred to Lieut. Hensly as a Volunteer, who was sent to the San Joaquin by water, and so far as I know Mr Smith has received no compensation.

R. Semple

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Letter Written by

Richard H. Kern, the Painter

Addressed to

His Brother Edward Kern

as

Artist of Fremont's Exploring Expedition

and

Final Letters to Kern

by

Gillespie, Gilchrist, Jones, and McKinstry

at the time of

His Departure from California

Philadelphia : California
1847

Introduction to Volume XXIX

THE first of these documents introduces Lieutenant Kern's brother Richard, who had been the recipient of the Westport letter of 1845 (see Vol. II) and who, together with Dr. Benjamin Kern, the third of the trio of brothers, was destined to be with Edward when the Fort Sutter Papers were abandoned in the mountains during the disaster to Fremont's Expedition of 1848. (See Vol. XXXI.)

It is an intimate personal message, written to "Ted" and signed "Dick," and was penned at Philadelphia on February 10th of 1847. Its address—in view of all that had happened to the one for whom it was intended—is a peculiar one, and an eloquent commentary on the conditions that then existed. The letter is sent to Kern, as Captain and "Artist attached to Lt. Col. Fremont's Exploring Expedition." Edward had put aside his brush for the sword some eight months before, and, at the moment the missive was written, was encamped at Bear Valley busily engaged in the rescue of the Donner Party.

In this year of 1921, when letters posted in San Francisco have been delivered in New York City, after a journey through the air, within thirty-three hours of their mailing in California, it is difficult to visualize the conditions mentioned by Richard in his letter. Events of the most profound importance to the nation had been taking place on the opposite side of the continent for almost a year, yet those in the east knew no more of them than is here indicated. He says that the last letter received from Edward was dated on March 31st of 1846, and that the papers have rumors about the Expedition, but that he has no means of knowing whether to believe them or not. While thus dealing with the very earliest phases of the Expedition, those momentous events had long since passed into history, and the letter was probably one of the last to be received by Kern before he left California.

By May of 1847 Kern's duties as Commander at Sutter's Fort drew to a close. The last members of the Donner Party had been brought out from the mountains during the previous month, and serious military activities had come to an end throughout the newly acquired territory. He therefore began his preparations for a return to the east, and the other manuscripts in this volume constitute the final official and personal letters received by him before he departed from the region that had been the scene of his activities for so long a time.

The first of this group (Manuscript Number 118) is from Purser's clerk Jones, of the *Warren,* and indicates that Kern was closing his official accounts as Commander of the Fort and forwarding them to Captain Hull of the navy.

The second is from Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie, who since his unfortunate experience at Los Angeles had fought both at the battle of San Pascual and at San Gabriel, and had been wounded in each of those engagements. Shortly before the date of this letter Gillespie had been relieved from his duties on land and had taken up his naval work again under Commodore Biddle. Gillespie's letter was evidently written for the purpose of paying to Kern the money due to him as Commander at the Fort, and reveals the unfortunate state of the navy's finances at the moment in question.

The Mr. King to whom Gillespie refers as Kern's possible traveling companion was the Henry King who had been one of Fremont's Exploring Expedition, and afterward a Captain in the California Battalion, of which he was also Commissary. King was later destined to be a fellow member with the Kerns in Fremont's Fourth Expedition, and was one of those frozen to death in the New Mexican mountains.

Edward Gilchrist, who wrote the third of these letters, was surgeon on the *Congress* and *Cyane;* he had been impressed for shore duty, and was at the time of this writing a Judge at Monterey.

The concluding letter is McKinstry's farewell to Kern, and though confessedly written in haste, it conveys to his departing associate all those items of personal news in which the Lieutenant was sure to be most interested. The "Bird" of whom McKinstry speaks was David Bird, who had come to California with the Kelsey party in 1844, and had fought with Sutter in the Micheltorena Campaign. He afterward joined the Americans at Sonoma in October of 1846, and was a Lieutenant in Company E of the California Battalion.

Ward was no doubt the physician Andrew Ward, stationed at Sutter's Fort, and a member of Company I of the New York Volunteers.

Samuel J. Hensley, also mentioned in the letter, was a man of much prominence in the Sacramento Valley during Kern's administration there. He reached California in 1843 with the Chiles-Walker train, became a trapper for a time, and in 1844 was in Sutter's employ. During the Micheltorena Campaign he served as Commissary to Sutter's forces, and afterward was an active member of the Bear Flag Party and Major in the California Battalion. During later years he founded and was the first president of the California Steam Navigation Company.

Pierson B. Reading, likewise spoken of by McKinstry, was also a member of the Chiles-Walker emigration. He became Sutter's clerk and chief trapper. In 1844 and 1845 he made extensive explorations, and during Sutter's absence was in command at the Fort. Reading was a member of the Bear Flag Party, and Paymaster of the California Battalion.

Lansford W. Hastings, who is still another of Kern's many acquaintances figuring in this letter by McKinstry, was leader of the well known overland train bearing his name which crossed the Continent to Oregon in 1842. He came

southward from Oregon into California in 1843. In 1844 he returned to the east to lecture, write, and induce further emigration to the Pacific Coast. The year 1845 beheld him again leading a party overland to California, and early in 1846 he went to the Salt Lake region in search of more prospective settlers, thus missing the Bear Flag activities. Returning in the autumn with Harlan's party, however, he joined the California Volunteers and served as Captain of Company F. After the war Hastings was an agent of the Mormons in certain of their business affairs.

Doctor John Townsend, the last of those referred to by McKinstry, reached California in 1844 as a member of the Stevens emigration. He served as Sutter's aide in the Micheltorena Campaign, and in 1846 practiced his profession in San Francisco.

Such were some of the historical figures of 1846 with whom Kern had become acquainted during his command at Sacramento, and concerning whom his friend McKinstry wrote in this farewell letter. The days of Kern's close personal association with them, and with the author of this message, had ended. His work as one of the group who brought California into the American Union was done.

Philada. Feb. 10. 1847

Ned (E. M. Kern):-

This is the first opportunity that I have been aware of, and I am very glad to embrace it, to inform you of matters and things here.

We are all well, Mary and Mr W. as usuall---(?) and the King do. Major the same. George is in the Custom House. Ben returned in the same summer you left, and is much improved in health, and John the subsequent Spring. He is with me at the office and is the same old man.

The last letter I received from you was dated 31 March /46 - I know not if you have written since. The papers have rumors, about the expedition, true and false I suppose, but they are like the showman - "you pays your money and you takes your choice". One of them stated you were appointed Commander of Fort Sutter. We presumed you did not write because you were too proud of your "blushing honors" - Bob Quayle is in St Louis - he saw one of Capt Fremont's men, who gave a favorable account of you, and liked you much. You must have improved in the "art".-

I have tried oil painting and find it much easier than any other kind. Business is good, and the income certain; there is sufficient for old man and self. I have the Institute - class very good this year. I am well satisfied. Capt Wilkes' son is learning with me. Drayton brought him. Gliddons brother comes also. I am now making illustrations for a medical Botany by Dr. Carson. He is much pleased with them. I made a set of drawings in Microscopic Anatomy for Dr Goddard - they secured me his favor, and good opinion as a painter. Dr Leidy (?) got me both the above jobs. He is at the University and doing well.

Ned Quale is dead. Matty Weaver is almost gone- Consumption the cause. He is in Ohio, and should he last until Summer I will

pay him a visit. Gliddon is in town, and will leave tomorrow for Baltimore. He lecture(d) here in December last to a large audience. He went to Europe the fall after you left, married and remained there until the following autumn. He has been in the country ever since and will remain for some time. He wants to know about his Bear Skin. Have you any skulls for Dr Morton. Do not neglect him. He has been very kind to me, sending his son to me, and procuring me a large school. I have been at several of his Sunday evening meetings.

Jocko and Saville are well - Em. do - The Wirt (?) is about as usual. We have split off from Decatur and formed a new lodge, covenant 114. If you have an opportunity to write and wish me to draw your card and deposite it in the same lodge do so. We have a fine set - All but Major belong to the order.

I went to Lake George last Summer, the White Mountains, N.H. and Boston. Leidy was with (me) Ben went as far as Fort Ly. Brayton knew me- he asked after you, and was very glad to see me. Eating as good as ever. We must go there again. Bill Wolfe has returned from Europe and is in New Orleans. He was in town from September last to January. Tekel is well, married and a mother. Tom and the rest as usual. Sayers as usual, No alteration in the old man, nor (picture of a face) - who says you will be sculped and then staved. The sixes are broken up- the old woman inquires after you. Em is there yet, Ad sometimes. Strick is gone to Bradford Cy.- Steve is married and a mother. Nine (picture of bottles) are standing in the usual place. Little George is living in town. Mose Em--y is also here, and a devlish fine fellow he is. Little Natty has turned rasc-l and left town. Bill McG. is gray as ever and makes money as fast. Stove pipe lady was put in limbo for disorderly house.

They have a dreadful famine in Europe, and Mountain Dew has gone up. I made some illustrations for the S.S.Union and they gave me my choice of engravings. The Academy of Fine Arts was fired June 5/45 and many of the things destroyed; they have rebuilt it. The war goes on - Vera Cruz will be taken shortly. Al Europe

is on a Valcano - and before many years it will break out. Aunt H- is in the widows Asylum. Theatres are looking up. C.Cushman is thought much of by the English. Susan is there also and well liked. This is the State for Troops - we have filled our regiments and some of the Virginia company also. Pennsylvania ought to take the contract for furnishing soldiers. We are to have a railroad to Pittsburgh- and probably thence to Cincinnati and St Louis, and then Hurra for Philada.

Benton published one of the Capt Letters, about the commencement of his troubles, his fight with the Klamath Indians - the butchering of two of his men, &c. My gullet, liver, and toe have had it their own way. The gullet almost refuses to let supplies pass through it to the belly - write if a chance occurs -

Dick H.Kern
62 Filbert St.

To
Capt. Edward M. Kern, Esq.
Artist attached to
Lt.Col.Fremont's
Exploring Expedition
California.

For the California Mail.

(Manuscript Number 118)

Sloop Warren
May 23rd 1847.

Dear Sir:-

Enclosed you will find a bill made in triplicate of all the items belonging to Capt Hull's bill. Please put your certificate on each and return them for the signature of the Capt.

Yours &c.
E.Jones.

To
E.M.Kern, Esqr.
Monterey.

(Manuscript Number 119)

Camp July 26th 1847
9 P.M.

My dear Sirs:-

Enclosed I send you a draft upon Purser Spuilen(?) for the amount of your accounts $410.65 drawn by Commd. Stockton who desires me to say to you that there is no other method of settling your ~~accounts~~, bills and that there is but one ounce in the purse at this moment.

I advise you to forward this to the Congress as soon as possible and if Mr Kern would be able to travel sooner than Mr King he had better proceed to San Francisco as soon as possible fearing that the Congress may go to sea.

Wishing you speedy restoration to health and a quiet and pleasant passage home, in haste

I am Dear Sir
Your Sincere friend
Archi H.Gillespie

To
Messrs Edward Kern and Henry King
Bear Valley.

(Manuscript Number 120)

n.d. (1847)

My dear Sir:-

Will you do me the favor to take charge of the two letters which I send and mail them as soon as you arrive in the U. S.? I have written to my brother Judge Gilchrist of New Hampshire that he might draw upon Corcoran and Riggs of Washington for the amt. of the drafts, soon after the receipt of my letter, as they will collect the amount and pass it to my credit.

I am sorry that I could not see yourself and King again but I am too unwell to go on shore- please give him my regards. Wishing both a pleasant Voyage and speedy recovery of your health, I am

Very truly yours
Edward Gilchrist.

To
E. M. Kern, Esq
Monterey.

(Manuscript Number 121)

San Francisco Aug. 5th 1847.

My Dear Kern:-

Mr Bird leaves this morning in the T.H. Benton for the States via Panama. Send you a few "Stars" No 29, "Sacramento" No. 30, "True Justice". No answer from "Justice" (Ward) gone to the States on the "Columbus". Send your old friend King one copy. Also Hensley. Courier Wombo (?) not spot money cached bad snap - nothing new to write, in great haste.

Reading gone to Upper Sacramento 2 cannon, ball, guns & blunder Buss &c.&c. Hastings & myself leave to day for fort return to "Montezuma" immediately, officers folks, old Doct Townsend tells Mr M-- not to go. H(astings) and I want wife &c. women will go I think, spunk you know. Please get up some Liths Views of Mt Diabalo (Diablo) hope I shall meet you in the winter. Indians very sick up river, wheat not in - No mormons in yet, hope the Diggers have chimucked them. Hope you will arrive safe.

Yours truly
Geo. McKinstry. Jr.

To
E.M.Kern, Esq.
Care Messrs Hooper, Wolfe & Baker
Cor 5th & Market Streets
Philadelphia

(by) Mr Bird.

The Fort Sutter Papers

The

Life : Times : Men : and Events of 1846–1849

in

California

Contrasted with the Conditions of 1851

In a Letter written by

George McKinstry

to

Lieutenant Edward M. Kern

San Diego
1851

Introduction to Volume XXX

ONE of the longest historical documents embraced in the Fort Sutter Papers —and in certain respects the most interesting—is the letter contained in the present volume. It is the last message written to Kern by his old friend and associate McKinstry, and is dated from San Diego in 1851.

McKinstry here pours out his immense personal knowledge as a pioneer of 1846 and contrasts the days of the Conquest with conditions as they existed in California five years later, when the letter was written. As a vivid, extraordinary, and intimate portrayal of California life and affairs during the first years of the state, its superior can hardly exist in all the mass of written or printed literature of the time.

The impelling cause which resulted in the creation of this remarkable manuscript was a meeting between McKinstry and Edward Kern's brother, Richard, who had just reached San Diego, coming in across the plains with the Sitgreaves Expedition of which he was artist and astronomer (see Vol. XXXII, Manuscript Number 131), and who is to figure prominently in these papers from this volume onward.

It appears from McKinstry's opening sentences that there was a striking physical resemblance between Edward and Richard Kern, and the California pioneer testifies to the qualities of Richard by asserting that he had finished his desert trip "fat and saucy," after being sustained by a diet of mule beef and roasted jack-ass.

Then McKinstry plunges into the body of his elaborate recollections, descriptions, and comments on men, events, and historic localities. It would be in a sense a criminality to repeat in these printed lines the substance of the letter and its confidences, which possess qualities impossible of creation except by such a man as was its author. His grim catalogue of the diverse fates that had befallen the "old Sacramento crowd" (wherein are named numerous men heretofore appearing in these Papers) is a striking commentary on the conditions then prevailing in the society which he discusses and of which he was so intimate a part. Once again he reverts to the "man-eaters" of the Donner Party, whom he himself, as we have seen, had labored to save. There is a sardonic humor in his mention of Keseberg (who was then keeping a restaurant), and in the thoughts that move him as he considers the matter of eating in Keseberg's gastronomic establishment.

Of course McKinstry speaks of Sutter's Fort, where Kern and himself had lived and worked together through days that were so swiftly slipping into the

past. In that particular reference McKinstry's letter displays a touch of sadness. He says the Fort is fast going to decay, and that the last time he visited the historic structure there was not a living thing to be seen within it. He concludes the reference with a wail, exclaiming, "What a fall is there, my fellow."

One cannot read the letter without a feeling of regret that the old pioneer—vainly protesting against the changing times—already found his paradise a thing of the past, his golden California peopled with "Yankee" interlopers, and himself pathetically out of place, amid strange men and new ways.

Yet, had McKinstry but known it, the "old Fort" was not to pass away. There came a time, years afterward, when Sutter's Fort was recognized as one of the memorable spots associated with American history, and that realization has resulted in its preservation. The old walls will stand as an inspiration to many future generations, and the story of the things that happened there, and of the events with which it was so intimately associated, will continue to live even when its material substance has disappeared from the sight of man.

(Manuscript Number 122)

San Diego, Dec. 23rd 1851

Dear Kern:-

It is a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing anything direct from you, but on the 18th ult. I had the great pleasure of meeting your brother Dick here at my Cousin's quarters (Maj. J.McKinstry, U. S. Quarter Master, Southern dist. California) From the striking resemblance to you I felt that I once more had the pleasure of meeting you.

As this will be handed you by your brother, I will not go into a history of his agreeable trip over the desert, Suffice it to say he came in fat and saucy, having been well fed on Mule beef and roasted Jack Ass, all pronounce roasted Jack Arse good, very.

The last letter I had from you was dated at the Isthmus; I was in hopes to have a long letter from you on your arrival at Philadelphia. I have written you several times, but have received no answers.

Immediately on the discovery of Gold I wrote you and advised you to hasten out, but I presume if you had come, and made the almighty pile, you would have lost it as the most of us have.

Since you left this country a most astonishing change has taken place, the new Yankees would say for the better, but we old fellows from Capt Sutter down to old Bray!

The "Embacadaro" is now the large City of Sacramento, the old Fort is fast going to decay; the last time I was there I rode through, and there was not a living thing to be seen. What a fall is there, my fellow!

The lovely Sacramento, that was in our time only disturbed by "the well known, fast sailing, coppered, and coppered fastend Clipper Schooner Sacramento, "Yonckmomey", Master, is now plowed day and night from San Francisco to Marysville (old Cordua's farm) on the Yuba and to Colusa (Larkin's farm) upper Sacramento by most magnificent Steamers, generally called floating p(a)laces crowded with hungrey gold hunters and speculating Yankees. Times are not as they "useter was".

From my long life in the Western Wilds I do not feel at home and I have come down here to look at the country and may purchase a ranch and settle for life. From what I have seen of this part of the state I dont think the damned Yankees will crowd me much, but to my astonishment the cursed Christ killing Jews are on the ground doing battle in the "ole clo" line. Old San Diego is full of them. I believe you have been at this place, if not your brother will describe it to you. I send a copy of the San Diego Herald which will give you some account of the War now going off in these parts. Your Brother will probably leave for San Francisco tomorrow or next day, by that time we may get news from the seat of war; the last despatches reported that they expected a battle on Sunday. We look for a courier in tomorrow. I leave on the 26th for the post at Cheno, with the paymaster, and shall visit Los Angeles and probably San Luis Rey.

The old Sacramento crowd have been much scattered by Death and other causes since you left. (William) Daylor by cholera; (Jared) Sheldon shot in a row with miners; Perry McCoon by fall from Horse; (Sebastian) K(e)yser drowned; little Johnson, wo(e)ful X (Kin sabe); Capt "Luie" missing in the mountains; Olympio shot; old (Thomas) Hardy, rum; (John) Sinclair, cholera; Capt (Wm.E)Shannon, cholera; old (Wm.) Knight, rum; Charley Heath, rum, missing, etc. Bob Ridley, fever I believe; and others too numerous to mention in an advertisement, or a hasty letter, I should say.

Our old friend Capt Sutter has fitted up the Hock buildings in fine style, and I regret to say is bursten all to flinders; old (Th) Cordua, tom bien; Daylor and Sheldon estates both said to be insolvent; our old and particular friend De Swarts (John L.Schwartz) still at the fishing Rancheria has that two story house built that he used to talk so much about, to escape from the moscuities. God knows how he stands the pressure; he goes it, though, more (than) ever on the rum; old (James) McDowell was shot some two years since, his widow is the proprietress of the town of Washington opposite Sac City, there are many fine buildings, but at present it is no go; there are some five hundred inhabitants; old Kitnor (?) is Major Dome at Hock, made a fortune and bust; (Wm.A.) Leisdorff dead; old (Eliab) Grimes dead; Jack Fuller do; (Allen) Montgomery do, your particular friend, his widow married the man that called himself (Talbot H.) Green formerly with Larking at Monterey and afterward partner of Howard at San Francisco. He was found out to be a Bank robber

in the U.S., some years since; he left to clear up his character, which was the last of him. I have not seen her for a long time, but am told she is the same "black bottle" woman.

I have given a letter to your brother to old Snyder and tell him he must make the acquaintance of Mrs M-- I presume she would like to hear from you.

Old (Louis) Keseberg, the Man-eater, has made a fortune and is now keeping a Restaurant in K St., Sac City. I would like to board there, I wouldn't! (Pierson B.) Reading is on his farm raising wheat and pumpkins in abundance; he was the whig candidate for Governor, but could not come it. He has been wounded twice since you left in Bear hunts - shot in the hand some two years ago, and broke his leg badly two mos since; next time it will be his head if he does not quit. He says he will go to Philadelphia on the first of April next and marry; about time, I think - Squaws & Niggers wont do. Old Snyder and Sam Hensley both married. Bidwell too damned mean to speak of.

Sam Norris has made some two or three hundred thousand dollars, but is now hard up and though(t) to be bust; Sam Brannan do. do., and in fact I could fill a fools cap sheet with the names of the old Gauart burst up community, including your humble servant.

I purchased the Chico ranch of old (Wm) Dickey, he went to the States and Ireland, dont know where the hell he is. Old (John) Yates gone to England. Sam Neal is on his farm; he has built a large Frame house, and still believes in horses - still rides the little grey.

Doct. Bates and brother made a snug fortune - lost it - gone to practicing again. Old Nicholas made a city on his farm - city burst up, and I think must have bent him some, and by the by, he is married to a white woman, or rather, a Dutch woman. Nye made some 75 to 100 M. dont know how he stands. Hicks has made say 150 M., he is in good order I think, an exception to the thousands. "Ellick Mc Dowell" (Selim E.Woodworth) is at Montrey, a state Senator from that town - left the Navey - Great country this!

Farming is carried on to a great extent, the vegtables raised here would astonish you as to quantity and size - Cabages 53 lbs per head, irish potatoes 33 in. in circumference &c. &c. You ought to

visit the country once more "before you die". Short trip by Steamers or by Vera Cruz and Acapulco which I am told is a very pleasant one; a new line of stages and packs have been established on that line, full as cheap and quick. I came down on the Steamer the other day with one of the proprietors of that line, he has lived in Mexico sixteen years and thinks it the country.

Well Kern, I must draw this Dick Snivler history to a close. I have been writeing in a room filled with high strung officers going it loose full of music and "otard Dupy", some just in from Gila, others from Santa Fe and Colorado, others about starting for Yerba Buena. A company of Volunteers have just arrived from San Francisco, they number 40 muskets - good looking fellows - dress Blue & Black, as the jockey would say. I shall expect a long letter from you on receipt of this, giving an account of your life &c. for the past 3 or four years.

You must excuse this jumbled, mixed, hurried communication, when at leisure I will write more carefully, and will occasionally send you Steamer papers that will keep you posted as to California. A pictorial Phila or N.York paper occasionally would be very acceptable, my Post Office is at present Sac City.

Your Brother will give you a statement of affairs. I hope he may have time to visit Sac City and the Hock farm.

Yours Truly,
Geo McKinstry, Jr.

To
Edward M.Kern, Esqr.
62 Filbert Street
Care Mr W.B.Wolfe.
No.3 West Logan Square
Philadelphia.

By
Mr R.H.Kern.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Documents

Dealing with Fremont's Disaster

of 1848 - 1849

The Justification of "Old Bill" Williams

Against

Fremont's Charges of Incapacity

The Murder of Williams
and Doctor Kern

While Seeking

Edward Kern's Lost Papers and Property

and the

Effort to Recover their Bodies

Taos : Albuquerque : Santa Fe
1848 - 1849 - 1850

Introduction to Volume XXXI

THESE manuscripts possess a three-fold interest when considered in relationship to the entire assemblage of the Fort Sutter Papers. They deal with one of the most dreadful and least known disasters of early overland western travel; they concern the adventures of all three Kerns with Fremont in 1848, during which Edward and Richard escaped alive and Benjamin met his death; and they pertain to the abandonment and loss of Edward Kern's papers in the mountains of New Mexico, together with the long search thereafter made for their recovery.

It is desirable therefore—before devoting individual discussion to the documents themselves—to consider their relation to the manuscripts hitherto under review and likewise outline the tragedy with which Edward Kern's records of his administration at Fort Sutter were involved.

It should be borne in mind—as previously noted in Volume XXIV, Introduction—that when General Kearny arrived in California he severely denounced Lieutenant Kern's work in behalf of Fremont and the California Volunteers, for which identical efforts Kern had received the praise and approval of Commodore Montgomery (Vol. XVIII, Manuscript Number 74). And when Kearny visited Kern at Fort Sutter the General failed to give him a receipt for certain government property taken over by him (Vol. XXIV, Manuscript Number 99). Furthermore, there had developed that bitter controversy and conflict of authority between General Kearny and Fremont for which the explorer was afterward court-martialed, and during which dispute Kearny had ordered Fremont to surrender all official papers relating to his military activities in California. And, still further, it should be said that when Fremont reached Monterey on May 29th, 1847, Kearny ordered him to discharge such of his exploring party as desired to remain in California; to deliver up his surveying instruments; and refused Fremont permission to remain with his former fellow-explorers. Finally, he refused to allow Fremont to send for Kern, who was still at Sutter's Fort, or for King. As a matter of fact Kern and King did not accompany Kearny and Fremont overland to the east, but as indicated by the letters in Volume XXIX, those two members of the former exploring party were even then preparing to return to the States by vessel.

All these circumstances throw a strong light on Kern's probable bias of mind at the time, and amply explain any partisanship which he may have entertained against Kearny and in favor of the chieftain with whom he had reached California. These things may likewise give a clue to Kern's reasons for coming back by water with his papers, for, had he returned by land under Kearny, the General (in view of his orders to Fremont concerning written records)

might have found excuse to seize Kern's manuscripts on the ground that, indirectly at least, they constituted part of the material which he had told Fremont to surrender.

Still another possible aspect of the hidden relationship between Kearny, Fremont, and Kern presents itself. Fremont as an army man knew that his disobedience of certain military orders given to him by General Kearny subjected him to almost certain court-martial, and the Explorer was also actuated, without question, by the very human desire that his work in California should be advantageously presented to the public on his return to the east. It is also unreasonable to believe that Kern, his close associate, was ignorant of these matters and aspirations, and hence it is at least possible that Kern was also the custodian and bearer of personal written historical material belonging to Fremont as well as the papers assembled by himself at Sutter's Fort.

So we have Kern sailing home with his precious historical papers, and Fremont, with the remnant of his exploring expedition, returning overland. When Kearny reached Missouri he placed Fremont under arrest, and the court-martial which followed created a national excitement. Although the verdict was "guilty," popular opinion was overwhelmingly with Fremont and the President pardoned him, returned him his sword, and offered to restore him to active duty. But Fremont refused to continue in the army and devoted himself thereafter to an effort to justify his course in California during the period covered by these Papers. One of the methods which it was in his mind to employ was the writing of an elaborate and detailed documentary history of the events of 1846 and 1847, but that intent was unfortunately defeated by a series of untoward events. Among other things the bulk of his own papers was destroyed by fire.

It is obvious that after the court-martial Kern continued to be a partisan of Fremont, for when the Explorer organized his Expedition of 1848 he joined it, and his brothers Richard and Benjamin were likewise enlisted in its membership. The destination of the party was California, and for some reason concerning which we possess no specific declaration, Edward Kern carried with him the manuscript records assembled while he was commander at Sutter's Fort.

Now, therefore, we arrive at the period of November, 1848, when Fremont, accompanied by Edward Kern and his papers, together with Richard and Benjamin Kern and the entire party of Fremont's Fourth Expedition, entered the Rocky Mountains of New Mexico on a new route across the continent to California. Their guide was "Old Bill" Williams, most famous mountaineer and trapper of the region, who for no less than twenty-one years had already lived, hunted, traveled and explored throughout the forbidding country about to be traversed. A vivid word-picture of this extraordinary personality, written by Micajah McGehee, a member of the expedition who survived its horrors, has been preserved. It is incorporated in McGehee's narrative of the disaster, whose printed text is only to be found in the *Century Magazine* for March of 1891, and which, in its entirety, is appended to this volume for purposes of reference. The presence of McGehee's story herein makes it unnecessary to

recapitulate his absorbing narrative of the adventures and sufferings experienced by Fremont, Edward Kern, and the other twenty-one members of the party who escaped, and the deaths, by cold and hunger, of the ten who succumbed. It is sufficient here to say that the explorers were forced to abandon all their material, including (as Kern states in his letter embodied in Vol. XXIV, Manuscript Number 99) the records of the Fort Sutter administration.

The Expedition had entered the mountains on November 26, 1848, and it was not until February 9th of 1849—after seventy-six days of hardships rarely equalled and perhaps exceeded only in that similar tragedy experienced by the Donner Party (Vol. XXVI)—that its survivors, more dead than alive, reached Taos.

At that ancient town the broken expedition rested, and there—as indicated by these manuscripts—occurred those events which were to create a rupture in the close and intimate relations which had previously subsisted between Edward Kern and the man with whom he had traveled so long and so far.

Having thus indicated the events, personalities and country with which these papers deal, we may now properly consider the individual relationships of the various manuscripts with the matters themselves.

Manuscript Number 123, which opens the volume, is a document by Helmhole, the eminent Philadelphia instrument-maker of that day, showing one significant detail of Fremont's preparations for his forthcoming undertaking. It is a bill rendered for a case of amputating instruments (it was always wise to be forearmed for emergencies on overland journeys) and its presence among these papers indicates Kern's aid of Fremont in the details of organizing and outfitting the party.

Manuscript Number 124 has a particular historical interest and significance. It is a letter written by no other than Micajah McGehee himself, and is addressed to his father, in Mississippi. McGehee summarizes the sufferings and breakdown of the Expedition and generously commends all three of the Kerns to his father's hospitality and assistance. The date of the letter—February 13, 1849,—has an especial relation to those events at Taos which seem to have resulted in, or contributed to, the break between Fremont and the Kerns (see Manuscript Number 126). It was written on the same day given by McGehee in his narrative published in the *Century* (p. 779) as the date on which Fremont, after having obtained supplies from the Army Quartermaster at Taos, set forth for Sante Fe. McGehee still remained with Fremont, but the Kerns parted company with him then and there.

Manuscript Number 125 is the bill rendered to Fremont by the Quartermaster's Department at Taos for the provisions to which McGehee refers in his narrative. (*Century,* p. 779.) This document, when taken in connection with the one immediately following, discloses the dispute which arose between Fremont and the Kerns. It is signed by Henry Casey, and is headed by a statement that the supplies were "purchased by Col. Fremont for the purpose of

rationing his men to California." The date is February 11th, two days before the Kerns separated from Fremont and accepted McGehee's letter of invitation. That this document should be present among Kern's papers indicates that he acted for Fremont in the purchase; that the provisions were intended for all the surviving members of the exploring expedition, and that a bill for them was handed by Casey to Kern as Fremont's representative.

Manuscript Number 126 is a paper of unusual significance both because of its character and for the light it throws on Fremont and the nature of the estrangement between him and the Kerns. It is entirely in the hand of Edward Kern, who has titled it with the words: "Extracts from the Journal of Lt. J. H. Simpson, Corps Topogl. Engrs. U. S. A., in Relation to Fremont's Expedition, 1848–49." In this connection it is proper to state that Lieutenant Kern was Simpson's comrade and principal aide during that officer's explorations in the Zuni region, and, in that capacity, was intimately familiar with his methods, investigations, and extensive report, which was published by the government in 1850 as "Senate Document No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st Session." Kern, in fact, actually wrote a part of the printed report.

But the two "Extracts" as here contained were suppressed for obvious reasons and do not appear in the official narrative. They constitute a severe arraignment of Fremont on several counts, and attribute to him the blame for the catastrophe in the mountains. They also state that after Fremont secured the supplies from Quartermaster Casey at Taos he apportioned the food unfairly, gave the Kerns "but a small portion" of the food, and that Casey had to send a sergeant to collect the amount of the bill from Fremont, who had intended to leave Taos without paying.

Edward Kern's act in copying and preserving these passages from Simpson's narrative before that document was submitted to the government for publication suggests a suspicion on Kern's part that they would never appear in print, and likewise indicates his desire to have at hand, if necessary, a record to uphold him in the rupture with Fremont.

The final four letters of this volume (Manuscripts 127–130) relate to still another and far more sombre phase of the Kern-Fremont estrangement. After Fremont had escaped from the mountains and reached Taos he wrote from the settlement to his wife, under date of January 27, 1849, a letter in which he placed the whole blame for the disaster on "Old Bill" Williams (see *Century*, p. 772, note). Williams (who was nearly frozen to death), as well as the Kerns, parted company with Fremont at Taos.

It is now in order to inquire how Fremont's attitude toward the famous guide was viewed by the Kerns, and to what extent—if any—the Explorer's accusation against Williams affected the Fremont-Kern rupture. Let it be appreciated, in this connection, that the Kern brothers had also been Williams' comrades during the horrors in the mountains, and had the same opportunity to judge him which Fremont possessed.

The Explorer denounced the competence, knowledge, and abilities of the celebrated mountaineer and marched away. Edward Kern remained, in order to institute a search for his abandoned historical records and other effects as soon as climatic conditions permitted. When that time arrived, in early spring, he sent his brother, Doctor Benjamin Kern, back into the mountains on such a quest, and the very man to whose guidance he intrusted his brother's life and the success of the endeavor in question was "Old Bill" Williams. Both "Old Bill" and Doctor Kern met their death in the attempt, and these last four manuscripts deal with the effort to recover their bodies, and the later persistent search for the lost material.

Collectively these manuscripts disclose, in overwhelming measure, the Kerns' adherence to "Old Bill" and their faith in his competence. They likewise show that Kern enlisted the aid of nearly every man of proper experience in the region in his determined effort to recover his lost effects.

Among the men who are shown by these manuscripts to have helped Kern in his quest are Captain John Chapman of the army; Lieutenant Hendrixson; Horace Dickinson; John Greiner; La Blond, the French guide; the Lacomes; George Eustis, the mountaineer; and the well-known trapper and guide, Antoine Leroux. The letter jointly written by Dickinson and Greiner (Manuscript Number 129) is dated at Sante Fe on January 27, 1851; and Greiner therein says that diligent search will be made for "everything lost." The document, therefore, is proof that the search had been then continued for nearly two years without avail. Nothing in this whole collection of Papers, unfortunately, discloses either when, or under what circumstances, the persistent hunt instituted by Kern eventually proved successful.

In their exoneration of "Old Bill" Williams for the disaster to Fremont's Expedition, however, and in their refutation of the Explorer's accusation, these documents may be accepted as conclusive. With this matter, also, the first of the suppressed "Extracts from Simpson's Journal" (Manuscript Number 126) has a direct relation. It shows that Simpson made inquiry into the cause of the catastrophe, and discloses that Fremont was warned against the route he took by "Old Bill"; by Hatcher; by Biggs; and by "all who were acquainted with the country." The testimony of Micajah McGehee is in accordance with the results of Simpson's investigation. He says (*Century*, p. 772) that "Old Bill" was dubious, and "most of the old trappers at the pueblo declared that it was impossible." Still another contemporary narrative upholding Williams is that of the mountaineer, Dick Wootton. He says (see his Memoirs, published under the title " 'Uncle Dick' Wootton." Chicago, 1890, pp. 198–200): "Williams knew every pass in the mountains, and almost every foot of the Rocky Mountain country, and if General Fremont had taken his advice he would never have run into the death-trap . . . Williams told him that it was not practicable to cross the range by the route he had selected, in the winter season."

There still remains to be considered the invaluable letter of the famous guide Antoine Leroux, which is here embraced as Manuscript Number 130. Leroux's letter is devoted wholly to the subject of Fremont's fatal choice of

routes, and the possible passes through the mountains, one of which had been discovered by, and named after him. Of the route which "Old Bill" recommended, Leroux says: "Williams has himself traveled it several times in company with me. His knowledge of that part of the country was perfect. The course which was taken by Col. Fremont was an impracticable one in winter, and no sensible mountaineer would ever for a moment have entertained the idea of taking it, as no road ever existed there."

These documents, and the conclusions expressed in them, may be considered as final. In the light which they shed on the collapse of the Expedition of 1848, and on the things which took place at Taos immediately thereafter, may be read the causes which estranged John C. Fremont and Edward Kern. Whatever may be the feelings aroused by these disclosures, they nevertheless are history, and history is inexorable.

(Manuscript Number 123)

Col. Fremont's Exploring
Expedition of 1848

Sept 1. 1848	To one Case Amputating instruments	23.00
	one Pocket Case " "	10.00
		33.00

Recd. In Philadelphia of Col. J.C.Fremont this 1st day of September 1848 the sum of $33.00 in full for above bill

(Sign Dupt) Otto Helmole.

(Manuscript Number 124)

My dear Father:-

This introduces to your acquaintance Dr Benj. Kern and his brothers Messrs R.H. & E.M.Kern, who were with me during our disastrous Expedition with Col. Fremont & fellow suffers & messmates, to whom please extend any assistance they may require as I have tendered them the hospitality of your house & my home.

Haste,

Your Son

M.M.McGehee

To

Judge Edward McGehee

Woodville

Wilkinson Co.

Miss.

(Manuscript Number 125)

Purchs. by Col. Fremont, for the
purpose of rationing his Men to California.

96	lbs.	Coffee
200	"	Sugar
8	"	Candles
5	"	Gals. Molasses

Taos, New Mexico
Feby 11th 1849

Henry P.Casey
Ast. Q.M.Dept.

Extracts from the Journal of Lt. J.H.Simpson, Corps Topogl. Engrs. U.S.A. in relation to Fremont's Expedition, 1848-49.

(Sante Fe, New Mexico)
July 23rd,1849.

Hatcher further informs me that Fremont staid with him over night when on his way to explore for a passage through from Bent's fort to Spanish Trail route last winter, and that he told him, that it was impossible for him to get through the Mountains at the point he named at that season of the year; and so did they all meaning all who were living near him who were acquainted with the country.

He further says that he knew Bill Williams well, that he was an old experienced guide, and that Williams told him also that he ought not attempt the exploration at that season of the year.

Mr Biggs says that a man by name Scott, who was with Fremont at the time of his failure, and who accompanied him afterward to California, told him that when Lt.Col. Fremont got over to where he could see in the distance the mountain chain through which he was to pass, enquired of Williams where the pass was through which he was to go- that Williams pointed him a passage bearing to the North. That Fremont then told him pass was too far to the North, that he wanted to go a more direct course, and that that passage, pointing to one further South, must therefore be the one; that thereupon Williams told him he could not by any possibility (go through) by that pass, the more southern one, and that even as it regarded the more northern one, it was a matter of doubt - that they all opposed his taking the pass he proposed.

The guide Williams, I am told by Mr Biggs, was the guide of Major Sibley of Missouri in 1822 when he surveyed the Independence route to this place, Sante Fe, and that he was regarded as a very capable guide.

(J.H.Simpson)
(per E.M.Kern)

Santa Fe Oct. 27.1849

Mr. Henry P. Casey brother of Capt Casey of Subsistence Dept. from Taos breakfasted with me this morning. He is the guest of Mr. R. H. Kern - He informs me that he was Commisary Agent at Taos for the Government, supplied Col. Fremont with provisions, and that they were intended for his whole party.

The Kerns say that their party got but a small portion of the supply and they believe that Fremont appropriated it chiefly to the use of his California party.

Mr Casey further informs me that finding Col. Fremont was going to leave Taos without paying him some $40.00 for Subsistence stores which he had purchased of him, and for which he was accountable to the U.S. he sent his sergeant to him with his bill, which he then paid- He says that just about that time, hearing that the Elections had gone in favor of Genl. Taylor he no longer called upon him, Casey, not even doing so to bid him Goodbye, though he had been heaping previously upon him civilities.

(J.H.Simpson)
(Per E.M.Kern)

(Manuscript Number 127)

Sir:-

I received your note of the 6th inst. requesting me to assist in obtaining your brother's property, which I took great pleasure in doeing, although I did not follow the instructions of Capt Judd, in goeing to the Prefect, believeing that if I had done so I would never obtain the property.

I have strong suspicions that he is as bad a man or worse than the Indians themselves, but on receiveing your Note, I took with me a Sergeant and one man, and proceeded to the Village where the villians live, and arrested three of them, and searched their Houses, and found what goods I sent you by the Mexican.

I found the villains dressed in Cloathing of the deceased. I have them in Confinement, untill I hear from Taos. I believe that they will be sent there for trial, as I do not feel warranted in turning them over to the Civil Authorities at this place. If I had saddles to mount my men, I would send them forwith.

I have the honor to be Sir

Yours Respectfully
John Chapman
Capt Comdg at Albiqui.

To
R. H. Kern
Taos
N.M.

(Manuscript Number 128)

Head Quarters
Albiqui N.Mex
(1849)

Sir:-

I have tried to force information from the Mexican prisoners in relation to your articles lost in your skirmish with the indians. I can gain nothing from them but that the indians have got the other articles.

Every effort to recover them that can be made shall be done.

Yours very respectfully
Lieut Hendrixson
Comdg at
Albiqui
N.Mex.

To
R.H.Kern
Taos, N. Mex.

(Manuscript Number 129)

Santa Fe Jan 27/51 (1852)

Dear Ned (E.M.Kern):-

Your favor of Nov 30/51 came to hand this mail and very glad I was to receive it as I had heard nothing of you since you left the fort at the "hole in the Llano".

Capt Pope I hear is at Fort Union but what he intends to do I am unable to say and it is more than likely that you would not like matters in this Territory as in times past for almost everybody has gone everywhere scattered all over the bulgine(?) lands cocked up in some little fort and ordered (?) to look sharp for injines which of course they dont do, fools if they did.

Loyd Beall has been court martialled but I believe it has all resulted in smoke. McHarcourt has played H--l generally he left this place for Chihuahua and there got broke I suppose for to make himself famous he forged Capt Easton's name to the amt of $23,000 or there abouts, the Capt arrived here a few days since and immediately offered a reward of $1,000 for his apprehension. Mayer is the chief sufferer by this proceedure together with some Mexies. Want he a goose!

I suppose you have heard of the murder of Bob Brent by the Apaches in the "Journada del Muerto" last Dec. You can get a much better account of it from the papers than I can give. His body was brought to this place for interment and he now lies but a few paces apart from the last resting place of Skinner.

Lots of peeps have left this place for the states since your departure & I suppose that before this time you are enjoying a little W straight with fresh oysters with a relish. Wish I were there to help you devour some of the same & think I could get accustomed to a toddie now and then, anyhow I took a d-d big lesson last Christmas, as did most of the peeps in this place, in fact I have seen folks tight, with enough sober ones to take care of the rest, tight match for that last Christmas here.

I dont think that anything more can be done at present to discover the guilty ones in the affair of Skinner but the matter is not at rest except in the courts, however other people are on the watch and one day or another they will catch them.

Since Dick's (R.H.Kern) departure from the Laguna I heard nothing from him or of him & so can only hope that he went through safely. Maj. Greiner has been very sick, but has now recovered and requests me to say that every effort will be made to recover those things if possible.

The wisdom of his pais closed its labors some ten or fifteen days ago and done very much as a tinker would if called to repair a steam engine, they left us in a worse fix than ever.

Old Madam Toolis is dead and such a funeral I never saw. Bishop, five priests, music, candles, estaciones, &c. cost $1600.00, $1000. for the Bishop and the rest divided around. I believe Uncle Jim Giddings is somewhat the gainer by the event, I hope so any how.

I wish you would let me know about the pictures for if they are not forthcoming I will find out the Dr's residence and give him jessie in some way or another; his commission was limited. Marcus Conklin went to the States last summer, and returned deranged but is now getting better. Since the departure of the jiute (?) the putas (?) wander about seeking whom to get down, dos reales going, going, down.

A party of men left here last Monday to make a thorough search for gold on the branches of the river Gila; hope they meet with success, for we must raise some kind of excitement soon, as Col. Sumner's policy is using us up awfully, rather too economical even for the good of Uncle Sam.

Maj. Greiner said he wished to write so I gave him a party of my sheet.

Yours Truly
(H.L.)Dickinson.

(Appended to Dickinson's letter)

To Mr Richard Kern:-

I avail myself of this opportunity of answering your letter written from Zuni- in which you requested me when I went up to the "Sangre de Cristo" to look for the remains of your Brother and Old Bill Williams.

I supposed the troops would have been there this fall and winter, but they will not go untill the grass grows in the Spring- when I shall accompany them and shall certainly use every exertion to recover the remains and have them buried. A diligent search will also be made for everything lost. I met 'La Blond', the french man, you recollect, who pilòted you out of the snow, the other day at Taos, and he has promised to aid me in everything in his power - the Lacomes also at Rio Honda - and George Estes, the old Mountaineer also says he will do all he knows.

I am more than half inclined to believe that Chico Velasquez is the Captain of the Band who murdered your brother & Williams, and I have had my eye on him closely for some time, and shall embrace the first opportunity of paying him his deserts - He is the fellow, no doubt most deeply implicated in the murders of the White & Mail party - and I think his Scalp sits very loosely upon his head.

I should be pleased to hear from you.

Very truly yours
John Greiner

(Manuscript Number 130)

Don Fernandes de Taos
New Mexico
22nd Aug. 1850

Dear Sir:-

Your letter requesting information from me of certain passes through the Sha-ouach (Chow-atch) mountain has been received & in reply I have to state as follows:

In the span of twenty or twenty five years I have been in the habit of crossing and recrossing the Sha-ouach mountain, & I am perfectly well acquainted with the country on both sides of it, & the roads across it. This mountain is situated north of the head waters of the Rio del Norte - it runs in a south west direction - being continuous with the White Mountains on the East and forming an obtuse angle with the San Juan Mountain which lies on the west & gives rise to the head waters, of the Del Norte. The whole mountain is about 80 miles long, and varies in breadth from 30 to 40 miles.

There are but two practicable roads over said mountain, one which bears the name of Robidoux, the other which was discovered and first travelled by myself. Robidoux's road crosses the mountain considerably to the East of my road - & falls on the Tronkaras (Trenchara). The trappers road, or Indians road as the one discovered by me, is called by the Indians, commences at the Del Norte near where it takes its final western turn, & although the ascent of the mountain is somewhat steep, the summit is soon arrived at, & the descent practicable at all seasons of the year. This road falls on the Cuahiloke (Cuchiloke), a branch of the Compadre; it is well known to most of the hunters and trappers - & Bill Williams has himself travelled it several times in company with me. His knowledge of that part of the country was perfect.

The course which was taken by Col. Fremont was an impracticable one in winter- & no sensible mountaineer would ever for a moment have entertained the idea of taking it - as no road ever existed there known either to the trapper or to the Indian.

I am Sir, Yours &c.
Antoine Leroux

To
(E.M.Kern) ?

The Fort Sutter Papers

Early Explorations and Studies

among

The Indians of the Southwest

carried on by

Edward and Richard Kern

embracing

The Assembling and Plans of the Sitgreaves Expedition : Edward Kern's Description of the Zuñi Indians and their Habitations in 1849 : The Manuscript Notes of Richard Kern's Researches in the Zuñi Region : His Conclusions Regarding Ancient Cibola : Lieutenant Simpson's Letter on the Sitgreaves Journey and Letters to John R. Bartlett Concerning the Work of the Two Brothers

Laguna : Sante Fe : Washington
1849 : 1850 : 1851 : 1853

Introduction to Volume XXXII

AFTER the Kern brothers parted company with Fremont at Taos, in the early spring of 1849, they joined the Simpson Expedition in its explorations of the Navajo country, and following that undertaking Richard Kern, as has been mentioned (Vol. XXXI, Introduction), became the artist with the Sitgreaves party in its travels through the Zuñi region in 1851.

It thus fell to the lot of Edward and Richard Kern to be the first modern investigators who, by pen and pencil, revealed to their fellow-men those regions of the ancient Cibola visited and vaguely described centuries earlier by Coronado. The annexed manuscripts embody the written descriptions and conclusions reached by them regarding this important and absorbing archæological problem, and should be examined in conjunction with the many drawings contained in Volume XXXIX. They are among the earliest known original documents relating to the subject. Two of the manuscripts by Richard Kern are in the shape of incomplete notes or unfinished preliminary drafts, showing that he was preparing an elaborate argument dealing with the question.

Manuscript Number 134 is in the hand of Edward Kern, and was written by him while among the Navajos in 1849. Its principal feature is his description of the Pueblo of Santa Domingo. He sets forth a detailed explanation of the native architecture, mentions the use of selinite for windows, tells of the use of ladders, and describes the costumes of both sexes. This manuscript appears to have been a field note, and part of it was published in Simpson's Report (Senate Executive Document No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st Session), pages 61 and 62.

Manuscript Number 132 is a letter written by Simpson to Richard Kern, and deals elaborately with his own experiences in the sense which those adventures may be of value to the Sitgreaves Expedition, then under preparation.

The opening manuscript (Number 131) is a letter from Richard Kern to Edward, and was written from Laguna at the start of the Zuñi Explorations. It is an intimate and behind-the-scenes portrayal of the chaotic conditions attending the outset of an overland expedition, and shows a side of such undertakings that was always excluded from the later official and published reports. The letter is also interesting in connection with the Dickinson-Greiner manuscript (Number 129) contained in the preceding volume. Edward is requested to write to Greiner for aid in the search for their lost property. The documents in Volume XXXIII should also be studied in their relation to this letter.

Manuscript Number 133 is from Spruce M. Baird, Indian Agent to the Chirichua Apaches, and later Attorney General of New Mexico. It is written to

Richard, and devoted entirely to the archæological studies then being made by Kern. It indicates in a striking way the methods and care which the artist was using in his investigations.

Manuscript Number 135 is the original draft of a long and elaborate report by Richard Kern written on seven folio sheets, and devoted to his research work along the route of Coronado's march. He arrives at the conclusion that the Cibola of the Conquistadores and Old Zuñi are one and the same.

Manuscript Number 136, dated two days later than the preceding, is evidently another and differently worded draft of the same report. An extended discussion of these matters, and of Kern's explorations and judgments thereon, may be found in the Smithsonian Institute Report for 1869. It was written by General J. H. Simpson and published under the title "Coronado's March in Search of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and Discussion of Their Probable Location."

Manuscript Number 137 is a detailed description of the great stone house near the Gila River, which was long known as the Casa Grande de Moteczuma. It is Richard Kern's transcript of the journal made in 1775 by Father Pedro Font during the missionary's expedition to Monterey and San Francisco.

The final three manuscripts are letters from Richard Kern and Paymaster Cunningham of the army addressed to John R. Bartlett, who was organizing his party for the explorations attendant on the survey of the boundary between Mexico and the United States. All three strongly urge the employment of Edward Kern, and were the result of Bartlett's effort to secure the services of Richard. One of this group, Manuscript Number 138, is Richard's draft of his letter declining the proffered situation and recommending his brother for the place. In it he recites something of Edward's career during the past six years and also makes one further mention of the mountain disaster. He says that the large natural history collection previously made by Edward and himself was among the material abandoned in the mountains.

(Manuscript Number 131)

Camp at Laguna Aug 24/51

Ned (E.M.Kern):-

We arrived here yesterday about noon - Old Sumner beating us a couple of hours - he having left Albuquerque a day before us. His mules and horses strwed the road, and a pretty looking set of scarecrows he has to catch the Navajoes, but unfortunately for us they have all gone down to the Little Colorado with their stock, and we may have some trouble.

Kendrick is to command the escort and it will consist of some 30 men - Our animals are doing very well, improving ever since we left Santa Fe. Old Bull has had several talks with me and says he will be very thankful for any information I can impart - I told him how he ought to march and where camp and he seemed for a wonder to coincide with me.

We have 5 Cos of Dragoons - 5 of Infy and one of Arty. Ker resigned yesterday night and left for Albuquerque.

If you return with Pope - write to Greiner the Indian Agent who will be stationed up at Sangre del Cristo, in case any one should go up the Del Norte and find any of our things. I will do so from Zuni. He is a fine old sensible fellow, and I got well acquainted with him.

We will be in Zuni about the 1st of September and leave about the 5th. I do not think that Kendrick has anything but his pack saddles yet - I know he has not a single pack mule. Old McDougall is along and very much disgusted with his fate. Old Howe goes down to Valverde to found a new post. Everybody hates old Sumner and all are afraid of him- he does not seem to have too much sense.

Major Thompson 1st Dragoons has the Monkies and bugs in his boots and swears he is Sir Jno. Barleycorn, and somebody wants to kill him. Reynolds is along with us - Messervy & Weightman have had a quarrel & Messervy is hard at work for Reynolds.

All the Injine Agents are against Old Calhoun- Dickinson has regisned his prefectship in Disgust.

Hardly any water in this valley, and the Acoma people cut it off - so there is but little corn to be seen. We intend going to Acoma tomorrow and the day after will perhaps pull up stakes for Zuni.

Nothing else except my head is 10 times as bad as ever - Tell the people I will write from Zuni - Remember me to all.

I am astronomer and observation star selector for the Expedition. Parke & Woodhouse send remembrances.

Yours
Dick.
(R.H.Kern)

Dr W--e (Woodhouse) is as great a gourmand as old Preuss.

To
Mr.Edward M.Kern
62 Filburt Street
Philada

(Manuscript Number 132)

Buffalo, Novr.13 1850

My Dear Kern:-

Yours of the 25th Sept. with enclosures I recd. on the 9th & I avail myself of this first leisure moment to reply.

I am glad to learn by your letter that you are with Capt Easton, in charge of the clothing. I should think such a position the most desirable one you could have in the Qr.Mas.Department. And then the Captain is so considerate and judicious, I should think you would not only get along pleasantly with him, but that you would be likely to retain the situation at least as long as he should be in charge, and you desired to remain. Present me kindly to the Captain, with my regards.

I regret to learn that you have had so much trouble in getting up a mess, and that when you wrote it was so small. I know how economically I was obliged to live in Santa Fe, and can well conceive how an enlargement of your present mess, would curtail individual expenditure. May that enlargement speedily take place. Yes Nones (?) is an exceedingly foolish fellow and I began to think just before I left Santa Fe, that he was making rapid strides downward in character, if he were not already irretrievably gone. But you know it is my doctrine, that none are so depraved, but that they may, by the mercy of the Almighty, be made to see their error and return to Him. I do sincerely hope & pray that such may prove to be the case with Nones (?). Remember me to him, and tell him that though --no, merely tell him that I hope he is taking better care of himself than he was when I was with him.

I am glad to learn that Parke was getting rid of his complaint at the time you wrote me. Tell him I received his letter dated the middle of September, and answered it a few days since, sending him the maps &c. By the way, I in that letter told him that I had received an order from Genl. Head Quarters extending my leave to the 1st of May, and ordering me then to return to my post at Santa Fe. Since then I have received a letter from Sitgreaves of the Corps at Wash-

ington informing me that he had just (Novr. 7) been informed by Col. Abert that he would be ordered to make an Exploration of the Rio Zuni, and requesting of me informations and suggestions in relation to the duty, transportation, outfit &c. He also writes the Expedition is to leave Santa Fe early next Spring, and (he believes) he is to take Parke with him. I yesterday sent off a long letter to him, recommending him among other things, if the time of his departure on the Survey from Santa Fe was optional with him, not to leave for Santa Fe until the Spring, and then to take the Independence route- organize his party at Santa Fe, so as to leave there by the 15th of July or 1st of August- take with him pack mules, 1 spring wagon to test the practicability of the route, carry the instruments, and measure with an admeter the road - and provisions &c enough for a two months trip, though I thought that it might be made in 45 days. He might then at the farthest be able to return to Santa Fe by the 1st of October, a period sufficiently early to enable him to reach Leavenworth before the inclement weather
fall and winter should set in. All the
you, is on the supposition that his Exp
is only to extend to the reconnoisance
Zuni, and within this limit does his
it, he saying nothing about going as far
He asks me whether the Exploration
complished in one season, and says it
Fe early next Spring; but whether sa
however would be superflous for us both to
to New Mexico at the same time. Time howeve
throw more light upon this matter, & as soon as I
speak more definitely with regard to it, which I
to when I visit Washington in Jany or Feby, I will
advise you.

Among the letters you enclosed to me was one from William C.Alexander at Princeton. Among other things he says "I am truly gratified to hear of Houghton of whom I had heard nothing for years save an occasional rumor. Be good enough to assure him of my continued regard, and also say to him that there is one thing he did not learn in my office, and that is a total forgetfulness of old
friends who always have taken and still take
and lively interest in his welfare,
to interest

occasional rumors of his success and
Be pleased to give the Judge
ds read the above remarks from his
en ourselves one of the letters you enclosed
from the Adjt Gen'ls office, dated July
ch he says that my letters &c have been
the Secy of War, who has decided" that
condition of brevets as now pending before Congress
is Class".

Tell Capt Shoemaker that so far from feeling offended for him a sincere respect and the kindest feelings of friendship, and which I trust no lapse of time will annul or even diminish. Be kind enough to present to him & family the assurances of my continued regard. Remember me also to Hugh Smith, Dr McDougall, Mr Reed & wife, Thomas & wife, Mr & Mrs Raymond, Major & Mrs Morris, Parke, your brother Edward.

Should a bunch of clothing be sent up from El Paso for me be kind enough to retain it until I shall arrive. I shall endeavor when I go down town, to get some late Weekly Herald's and send them to you by mail. An extract from my report in relation to the Chaco ruins and Mora Inscriptions I saw in the Annals of Science for 1850. My wife

It is uncertain who is elected Governor of this state, the contest has been so close that the official statement can alone tell. Candidates, Hunt (Whig) Seymour (Dem)

Yours
J.H.Simpson.

To
(R.H.Kern)

(Manuscript Number 133)

Albuquerque, N.M.
March 30th/51

Dear Kern:-

I herewith send the book you wish. Please take good care of it and return it when you have done with it. Please compare the engravings with yours of this region (that is, the antiquities) and with those ruins should (you) again visit them and ascertain if there is any uniform correspondence. Also examine for the marks of edged tools, as that, if none are found, will identify those ruins with an age anterior to the Conquest of Cortes.

Also ascertain if the location has any uniform regard to the points of the compass, more accurate than would be suggested by the stars (fixed) or the rising and setting of the sun. If there is any uniform regard to the compass, it will at least identify them with an age subsequent to the discovery of the magnet. Also ascertain the order or style of Architecture, if ther be any uniform order.

Also examine the foundations, and ascertain if there be any chief corner stone, if so at which corner. Also examine for aqueducts and the character of vegitation, see if there are any remains of domestic vegitation, or any not common to the place.

Very respectfully
S. M. Baird.

To
R.H.Kern

- level country with arroyas- cedars scattered about. Canon of the Rio de Sant Fe is very interesting - Height from 100 to 150 ft.- the Mesa sides are crowned by overlying basaltic trap, which shows in many localities the black scoriated effect of fire, and in some places is to be seen underlying it, an earthy formation of an ashey character, and in others, a reddish porphyritic rock, in beds, slightly dipping toward the earth.

At the mouth of the Canon, on the North side, is a well defined ash colored formation of an argillosilicious character, disposed in layers, and presenting with striking effect the appearance of the facade of a highly finished piece of Grecian architecture.

From the Canon you come on an extended plain, which stretches for about 6 miles until it reaches the Rio Grande - No trees visible until you can see the River, and there you find Cottonwood thinly scattered along its banks.

Santo Domingo an Indian Pueblo on the East bank of the Del Norte, contains about 800 inhabitants. Its streets are lain perpendicularly to the Rio Grande. The houses are of adobe - two stories high- the upper set retreatingly on the lower, so as to make its (the lower) roof answer for terrace or platform to the upper - roof nearly flat - beams are laid transversly which pitch slightly outward and are sustained by the side walls of the buildings - a layer of slats of wood or brush are placed longitudinally on these; these in turn are covered by bark or straw, and a layer of mud some 5 or 6 inches in thickness covers all. Stories about 8 or 9 ft.- lower stories small windows and no doors; the lights of the windows being of Selinite, the chrystalized foliated form of gypsum. The mode of access to the building is by exterior ladders, which may be seen leaning against every house - Have a circular Estuffa, 9 ft high & 55 ft in diameter, and like all others it has neither lateral windows or doors, and access is gained through a small trap door in the roof or terrace.

The men (wear) generally nothing but a shirt and breech clout; the women a dark colored blanket, covering one shoulder and drawn under the other; a girdle confining the blanket about the waist, and the arms being left bare and free; this appears to be the ordinary summer dress - The children run naked. Guayare manner of making it, tissue paper.

Rio Grande is about 300 yds wide; 3 or 4 ft deep & full of bars; bottom in spots, of a quicksand character. Soil of no account to day except in spots in the Canon and along the river.

Camp 3. Jamez, Aug 18th. gen. rout N.W. distance 26-(?) road heavy from the sand, and rough and uneven on act of sand hills and arroyas, and without water until we reached our camping ground.

(Manuscript Number 135)

Washington May 10th 1853

Sir:-

The following notes in reference to the route pursued by Francisco Vasques de Coronado, in search of the Seven cities of Cibola, were made during limited intervals between duties somewhat arduous, hence the matter has not been examined as closely as it should have been, nor an opportunity offered to enter upon numerous collateral details necessarily arising from it.

In tracing his track, upon the accompanying map, reference has been made to old Spanish charts (manuscript) to mark it as clearly as possible, where my personal knowledge fails, and to confirm such portions as have fallen under my observation.

The narrative of Castenada is written in the same vague, rambling style peculiar to all the histories written by the Conquistadors, and so provoking is this fault that one cannot help applying to them his own words. "If they are important they reduce them to nothing, and if they are insignificant they soon become so serious and surprising that they can scarcely be believed.

As no difficulty occurs in tracing the march of the army as far as Culican, as we have Pascuard, Compostella and Chimatla to fix it with certainty, the first named place has been used as a point of departure, and the following brief synopsis of the journey thence is presented -

After leaving Culiacan, striking north to the Sonora river, a Colony of the same name haveing been planted there, and traveling the same general course to Cichilticale, thence across the desert, and the Gila and little Colorado, the army entered Cibola or Zuni (My reasons will be found further on for giving this place the preference over the Moqui villages).

Here turning to the East it passed by Acuco or Acoma, and entered the valley of the Rio Tiguex or del Norte, at the Pueblo of Tiguex or --. Thence by way of Cicuye or Pecos, it penetrated to the buffalo region on the banks of the Canadian, and returned to Tiguex by way of Quivira and Cicuye.

Subordinate expeditions were sent at different intervals to examine the adjacent countries, and

penetrated as far as the Rio del Jizon (Big Colorado of the west) in the region of the Big Canon, and also near its mouth - and to the Pacific Ocean.

The first place mentioned by name, after leaving Sonora is Eichilticale, no trace of which can be found on any of the maps that have fallen under my notice, and an arbitrary position has been assumed, but as near correct as possible from the data on hand - It seems to have been rather a house than a town, but is possessed of an importance arising from having been visited by Cabeza de Vaca, some years previously, and is also the last town on the edge of the desert, lying south of Cibola.

Three days after leaving this place the army came to a river running in a deep ravine, which must be the Gila, this description and position of this stream in reference (to) the points assumed for the situation of Chichiticale rendering this an almost undoubted fact - No mention is made of crossing it, nor in fact is the passage of any river recorded except after leaving Cicuye for the Buffalo region.

Within eight leagues of Cibola another river was encountered which they called the Vermijo - If this river be the little Colorado the distance mentioned is very nearly the same as (the) Moqui Villages are from it. If it be the Zuni river

If the Moqui Villages are the same as Cibola this river must be the little Colorado - If Zuni be Cibola then it must be the Zuni Creek, a miserable apolgy for anything bearing the name of river, but having a sufficiently reddish muddy water in the rainy season, to have attracted Casteneda's attention, especially as it seems to have been directed to the most insignificant things.

I incline to the opinion that Zuni and Cibola are the same, for the following reasons - Because mention is made of a province called Tusayan*, lying twenty leagues from Cibola and to the North West ** where were seven cities, but with no intermediate population, this being about the relative position and situation of Zuni and Moqui at present. Don Pedro de Tobar was despatched thither, and the descriptions of the manners, customs & manufactures #of the people, and the positions, style

---

* Part 1st Chapter 11th

** Part 2nd Chapt. 3rd.

\# The Moqui at present day raise cotton, and with the exception of the Pimas are the only people in N.M. that do so. Whilst in Zuni in 1851 they brought several tilmos of cotton fabric to offer in trade.

of building of the Seven Cities tally exactly with the present Moqui Villages. After his return Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas was sent to explore the river of which the people of Tusayan had spoken of to Tobar, and which is the Big Colorado of the West - To reach this river Cardenas passed through Tusayan, and the distance between it and Cibola, as given by him, is equivalent to that between Moqui and the Colorado in the region of the Big Canon - and I can vouch for the correctness of descriptions of the country traversed.

There can be no mistake about the Rio del Jizon being the big Colorado, for no other river in North America passes through a canon of so gigantic a size. (From the San Francisco Mt. N.M. we obtained a distant view of this canon, and judging from our elevation above the sea and the character of the country between, I judge the walls to be not less than 5000 feet in height.) The description of its length and depth, the latter somewhat exaggerated is made out with rare truth and force (See Part 1, Chap 11th) - the Cascade (Ibid) alluded to is on the Little Colorado about long. 111 lat. 35 25' -, and during my connection with Capt. Sitgreaves exploring expedition from Zuni to the Big Colorado, I had an opportunity of visiting and sketching it. (break in narrative which continues as follows:)

--Tusayan lying twenty five (Part 1st Chapt 11th) leagues from Cibola and to the North West (Ibid) - where were Seven cities but with no intermediate population - the account of Don Pedro de Tobar's visit to this province - his mention of their offering him cotton cloths (whilst in Zuni in 1851 the Moquis brought some cotton tilmos to offer in trade), the fact (of) the similarity of Castenada's description of the Valley of Cibola to that of old Zuni, its situation with reference to the Pueblo (Part 1st Chap 14), where the army encamped the first day after leaving Cibola, and its distance from Acuco and the Rio Tiguex or del Norte.

The only argument in favor of Moqui, is, that there are still seven villages extant, included under that general name - but old Zuni formerly stood on the big mesa a couple of miles to the east of the present village, and numerous ruins more or less traceable, are still found up the valley of the Zuni Creek as far as the Ojo del Pescado. No other place is mentioned except Tusayan where cotton fabrics were offered to the Spaniards, and even at the present day the Moquis and Pimas are the only people in New Mexico that cultivate the cotton plant. If Moqui be assumed as Cibola where will we find the village at which the army encamped on its first days march -

Casteneda says most explicitly that there were no inhabitants between Tusayan and Cibola - and such is the fact at the present day. (Break in narrative).

In the meantime Coronado had departed with some of his force to visit Tatahaco which lay some distance down the river below Tiguex. He must have left the river valley, for mention is made of his party being two days without water, and as it was at last found in a range of snow covered mountains, must have been close to the base of the high ridge on the western side of the river, and which runs nearly parallel with it. As many of the present Mexican towns are built upon the sites of old Pueblos, the eight mentioned under the name of Tutahaco may easily have occupied the places now held by some of the present villages.*

The numerous changes incident to such a lapse of time, and the destruction of the archives of New Mexico prior to 1680 render abortive all attempts at locating these lower villages with any degrees of certainty.

Acomo or Acuco needs no argument - its lonely situation and the immensity of the rock upon which it is built will strike any person who has ever visited it on reading Casteneda account. (Break in narrative).

Meantime on the representation of the people from Cicuje (Pecos)** Hernando de Alvarado was ordered to take twenty men & accompany these Indians to their country which lay seventy five leagues # to the east, and then return to Cibola and give an account of what he might have seen. Five days were employed in reaching the Pueblo of Acuco, which from the conciseness of description, and position and

---

* Part 2nd Chap 6th - Castenada in enumerating the villages seen during the journey says "Tutahaco eight (these villages are found on descending the river-)

** Part 12

\# Ibid - I have changed the reading from miles to leagues- because this is about the distance from old Zuni to Pecos, and the time allowed for Alvarado's return (eighty days) is rather too liberal for seventy five miles, and in Chap 18th the distance from Tiguex to Cicuye is stated as 25 leagues.

distance from old Zuni must be the Acoma of the present day. Three days beyond this place Alvarado arrived at Tiguex* or Isleta** on the river of the same name, which is undoubtedly Del Norte.- Five days thence he reached the village of Cicuye - Here the wonderful stories of the Turk drove all idea of the Bisons from his head, and he (here ends the Manuscript).

---

* I cannot identify this place- Isleta approaches the nearest with certainty.

** From old Zuni to Acoma is about 85 miles & from the last place to the Del Norte about 50.

(Manuscript Number 136)

Washington May 12/53

Sir:-

The following notes in reference to the route pursued by Coronado were made during intervals between duties somewhat arduous; hence have not been able to examine the matter as critically, or entered into many details necessary to effect the object desired. In trying to indicate his route I have referred to numerous old Spanish maps (manuscript) to mark as clearly as possible, where I am personally unacquainted with it, and to confirm such portions as can be identified by my own observation.

In the narrative of Castaneda the same vagueness of description of country is found, that pervades all the histories written by the Conquistadors, and so provoking is this fault that one cannot help apply to them his own words in his dedication -"if they are important they reduce them to nothing, and if they are insignificant they soon become so serious and surprising that they can scarcely be believed."

This vagueness allows us to locate with certainty --(?) as no difficulty occurs in tracing his route from the city of Mexico, by way of Pascuaro, Compostella & Chiamatla to Culiacan, I have used this last named place as a point of departure.

Chapter 9th announces the departure of the army for Cibola and we can locate this part of the route without difficulty as far as Sonora, from the account therein given of the settlement of this place by order of Don Tristan de Avellan, who followed Coronado in command of the main body of the army. The next point, cichitlicale, is not to be found on any of the maps within my reach and consequently an arbitrary point has been assumed, but as near correct as possible, from the data on hand.

As the account of the march of the main body of the army contains more information relative to its route than that of Coronado's party I have followed it.

The river they met on the third day's journey undoubtedly the Gila, and the one spoken of as "eight leagues from Cibola" and called Vermijo is the little Colorado (Break in narrative)

After leaving Culiacan, and striking the Sonora river the expedition travelled nearly north to Cachilticale, thence across the Rios Gila and Colorado Chiquito* to Cibola or Zuni **. Here striking east, they conquered Acuco or Acomo, and entered the valley of the Rio Tiguex or del Norte, at the Pueblo of --, thence by way of Cicuje Pecos they penetrated to the Buffalo country on the banks of the Canadian River - and returned to Tiguex by way of Quivero. Expeditions at different intervals were sent to the Rio Tizon - Big Colorado of the West - near its mouth & also in the region of the big Canon - to the pueblos of Jemez & Taos. (break in narrative).....

Numerous ruins are scattered over the Territory. the most extensive that have fallen under my observation are in the valley of the Chaco. I visited these with Capt J.H.Simpson, Topgl Engrs in 1849.

Near the present Peablo of Taos, are to be distinctly traced the foundation walls of two immense towns - marked with such right lines that all attempts at the same by N.M. are put to the blush.

I have visited about thirty ruined Pueblos lying in the Navajo Country, in the neighborhood of the Pueblo of Taos, the valley of the Chaco, and on the southern side of the Little Colorado River at the foot of the San Francisco Mountain. The sizes of some are indicated by the few tottering walls that a few years will level to the earth, whilst the former magnitude of others can only be imagined by the line of the foundations that can still be distinctly traced, and showing by their regularity of outline and minuteness of detail an intelligence far surpassing that of the present inhabitants.

The old soujourners have passed away, leaving their former homes, as abiding places for the bright flower and lizard. (Here ends the Manuscript).

---

* Vermejo of Castanedo

** My reasons will be found later on for giving this the preference over Moqui.

APPENDIX

Notice

of the

Great House (Casa Grande)

Called that of

Monteeczuma. (1)

The Thirty-first of the month of October in the year 1775, my lord the commander gave the order to halt, we profited by this circumstance to visit the Great house known under the name of Moteczuma, situated a league from the Gila river -- neighborhood of three leagues to the east south east of the shores of the lake. We were accompanied by some Indians and by the governor of Uturituc; who related to his ancestors upon the subject of this house; this tradition reduces itself to tales of infants.---The position of the house can be seen upon the map indicated by the letter A, at thirty three and a half degrees. Here is what I say upon this subject.

To the Great House of the Rio Gila

********** ********** **********

We have visited with the greatest care this ediface and its ruins, of which I have given an iconographic plan, and that it may be comprehended more easily I have made the following explanation and description. The Great house of Monteczuma

---

(1) This notice is extracted from a journal rendered by Father Pedro Font, of the College of Santa Cruz de Queratacо, during a voyage that he made to Monterey and San Francisco, in the year 1775, in company with Don Juan Bantista Ansa, commander of an expedition which was conducting colonists and soldiers to reestablish this post.

for it appears that it was constructed by the Mexicans at the period of their emigration, when the

demon was conducting them across different countries in leading them to the promised land of Mexico. During their halts which were of long duration, they founded towns and built houses. The place where the house is built is flat on every side; it is situated a league from the Gila river. The ruins of the houses that formed the town extend more than a league toward the east, and in the other directions all the ground is covered with pieces of vases, pots and ---; Some of them are ordinary and some painted in different colors, in white, blue, red &c., which is a sign that this city was considerable, and inhabited by a people distinct from the Gila Pimas, since these last do not know how to make pottery. We made an exact -- of the edifice and its situation, and measured it with a lance to hasten the operation; these measures were afterwards reduced to geometric feet. Here is the result of our work:

*** ******* ******* ******* ***

All around are walls that indicate a -- or wall that surrounded this house and other buildings, above all the rear, where it appears there was a construction as an interior chateau or redout. Towards the south east there exists the remains of a construction (building) having one base story, that is divided in many parts. The interior - is four hundred and twenty feet from north to south, and two hundred and sixty feet from east to west; the interior of the house is composed of five halls, of which three of equal size are in the middle, and two others at the extremities; these last are larger. The three in the center are twenty-six feet from north to south, and ten from east to west; the two halls at the extremities are twelve feet from north to south, and thirty-eight from east to west. They are all eleven feet in height; the door of communication, five feet by two wide, and are all equal except the four first of the entrance, which appear to have had double the width. The interior walls are four feet - ; they are well constructed. The exterior walls are six feet. The house on the outside from North to South is seventy feet, and fifty from east to west. The walls are in - and -. Before the eastern door which is separate from the building, we found another piece which is twenty-six feet from North to South, and sixteen feet from east to west, without counting the - of the walls. It appears that the woodwork was of pine; the forest most easily approached being these trees; it is twenty-five leagues from there -

All the edifice is built of earth, and like that which they had seen in walls of - , in blocks of different size, a canal was brought from the river from a great distance, it served to furnish the town with water, but it is nearly dry. Finally we learned that the building had three stories; and if that which the Indins said is true, and to judge by the indications, it had four, counting one subteranean story. The halls were not lighted, to judge by that which remains, except by the doors, and the round holes - in the walls.

*** ******* ******* ***

We could not find any traces of ladders, we thought that they were burnt when the Apaches fired the edifice.

End of Appendix.

(Manuscript Number 138)

(Santa Fe, Mch 14/51)

Sir:-

I received by the last mail from El Paso, letter from Mr Moss & Mr Hoppin, apprising me of your offer of a situation as Draughtsman in the Boundary Commission.

Whilst tendering you my thanks for your kindness, I exceedingly regret that my engagements with Lt. Parke are such as to prevent my joining you in time to be of much service this Spring - I have therefore very unwillingly to decline your kind offer, but permit me to recommend my brother Edward M.Kern as one every way qualified to fill my place - In topographical, botanical and natural history deliniation, and portrait painting, he is my superior - and six years experience of camp life renders him eminently fitted for the situation you offer. He was with Col.Fremont in 1845, accompanying him as Artist and having been selected from 42 applicants, and after leaving Bent's Fort the topographical drawing fell to him also. He attended to collecting and drawing the specimens of the various departments of natural history peculiar to the region traveled over, and Prof.Torrey spoke of his botanical illustrations in the highest terms of praise.

He was also with him as Artist in his disastrous trip of 1848. He is at Abuqui, but I have written him stating your offer to me; he will be able to leave here the latter end of this month and will hand you letters from Col. Munroe, Maj. Kendrick & others bearing ample testimony to his ability - Excuse me copying the following from Lt Simpson's Report of the Navajo Country as it shows the satisfactory manner in which we performed our duty whilst with him.

Mr Hoppin mentions that you have heard I have a collection of birds that you would willingly purchase- This is an error. Whilst with Col.Fremont in 1848 my brother and myself made a large collection of birds & other specimens of Natural History, but adverse circumstances forced us to leave them in the mountains with most of our other effects - Since then I have made a large botanical & entomological collection, but I forwarded them to the states last year- As I expect to be in the field in a few weeks, I will try & send you duplicates of such specimens as I may be fortunate enough to pick up.

(R.H.Kern)

To
(J.R.Bartlett, U.S.Boundary Commission.)

(Manuscript Number 139)

Santa Fe Feb 16/51

Sir:-

Mr R.H.Kern has shown to me your letter to Mr. Chas.Hoppin, offering him a situation with the Boundary Commission.

As his engagements at present in this Department are such as to preclude the possibility of his joining you as early as you could wish, permit me to recommend to you for the situation, his brother, Mr. Edward M.Kern, as a gentleman every way qualified to fill it.

Mr.E.M.Kern accompanied Col. Fremont to California as Artist in 1845 - and among his duties he had to attend to the collecting and drawing of the floral, entomological and ornithological specimens of the regions passed over.

After leaving Bent's Fort he had also to attend to the Topographical sketching, and his accompanying Col. Fremont in his last and disastrous expedition is a sufficient (warrant) of the satisfactory manner in which he had performed his duty. Mr. R.M.Kern was also with this expedition, and both were afterwards in the employment of Lt.Simpson, Topogl. Engns. when he accompanied Col.Washington in the Navajo country in 1849 - And I have heard Col. W.(ashington), Lt.S(impson) and the rest of the officials connected with that Expedition speak of them both in the highest terms of praise.

I have known them both for about 18 months and can bear willing testimony of their worth as men and capability in their profession.

F. A. Cunningham
Paymaster U.S.A.

To
(J.R.Bartlett, U.S.Boundary Com.)

(Manuscript Number 140)

Santa Fe March 13/51

Sir:-

Mr. R. H. Kern has shown me your letter offering him a situation as Draughtsman in the Boundary Commission. As it is impossible for him to join you for some months yet, let me recommend as one equally qualified, his brother Mr. Ed.M.Kern.

This latter gentleman served with Col Fremont in 1845 & 48, in the capacity of Artist, as well as assistant Topographer. He was also with Lt Simpson as assistant during Col.Washington's Navajoe Expedition, and I know he rendered entire satisfaction.

From what I have seen of his work, he is every way qualified to perform the duties; and his long experience in Camp life will make him a valuable acquisition to your Commission. Excusing this liberty of addressing you, I am very respectfully

Your obt servt.
(unsigned)

To
Mr J.R.Bartlett
Chief B.Survey

The Fort Sutter Papers

Horace Dickinson's Letters

Portraying

Pioneer Life in Santa Fe : Indian Troubles

Army Affairs and Jealousies

Deeds of Violence
Territorial Politics

and the

Frontier Conditions of the Southwest

as written to

Edward and Richard Kern

Santa Fe and Albuquerque
1851

Introduction to Volume XXXIII

HORACE L. DICKINSON, the author of these manuscripts, was one of the prominent men of the time and region, and served as the Auditor of New Mexico during 1853. This volume contains his earliest letters to the Kerns, and its contents should be studied in connection with Manuscript Number 129 in Volume XXXI. That document, which was written in conjunction with Indian Agent John Greiner, contains details of the search still being made for the papers and other effects lost during the Fremont disaster, and promises vengeance for the deaths of Benjamin Kern and "Old Bill" Williams.

The first letter of this group is addressed to Edward Kern, and announces Richard's departure for California with the Sitgreaves Expedition. It was Richard Kern's arrival at San Diego, and his meeting with McKinstry, that inspired the remarkable missive sent by McKinstry to Edward Kern which is preserved in Volume XXX.

The second manuscript (Number 142), written to Richard Kern, is divided into two distinct parts. In the first he discusses certain archæological matters wherein Richard was keenly interested. (See Kern's writings on those subjects in Vol. XXXII.) Following that phase of the communication Dickinson enters upon an intimate narrative relating to the affairs of the Territory, its political quarrels and social conditions, taking occasion to inform his friend regarding the things that have befallen their mutual acquaintances. He gives the details of an assassination by the "greasers"; an estrangement with the sheriff; an election fraud; a defense against gambling and drunkenness; a bad debt; and concludes with the sad tale of the fall from virtue of Kern's old washerwoman and the murder of her paramour by the heretofore easy-going husband.

The concluding letter, also to Richard, continues the catalogue of events. An especially interesting feature of this manuscript is Dickinson's reference to Kern's portrait of Hoosta. (See Vol. XXXIX, plate 1.) He says the Indian had seen it in Simpson's "Report," and was greatly pleased with it.

Dickinson goes into details concerning no less than forty pioneer characters who were known to Edward and Richard Kern, and a brief summary of the prominent parts played in New Mexico's early days by the men discussed will afford an understanding of the nature of these documents as historical records. The names of some of them, and of their relation to the period, are here set down.

John S. Calhoun was the Territory's first Governor. He was originally sent out as assistant Indian Agent in the spring of 1849, and was confirmed as Governor by the Federal Senate on January 7, 1851;

Major Richard H. Weightman was the first man whom the Territory sought to elect as United States Senator, on June 20, 1850. His credentials were refused by the Senate on the ground that no state government then existed;

Captain A. W. Reynolds was Army Quartermaster at Santa Fe and leader of the anti-Calhoun faction in Territorial politics;

Judge Grafton Baker was the Chief Justice of New Mexico;

"Squire" (James) Collins had been Collector at San Francisco during a still earlier period;

William S. Allen was Territorial Secretary during 1851–52;

Robert T. Brent was Auditor during 1851;

Charles Blummer was United States Marshal, and Treasurer of the Territory. It was he who traveled among the Indian pueblos and took the census of the Indian population in 1849;

Colonel Edwin V. Sumner was Commander of the Military Department and performed notable services in the Territory;

John Greiner was Territorial Secretary during 1852–53, and served as Governor and Indian Agent, succeeding Calhoun;

Pinckney R. Tully was assistant to Calhoun in Indian Affairs;

John G. Jones was likewise one of Calhoun's Aides in dealing with the Indians.

Other pioneers, Indian traders, overland guides, and mountaineers discussed in the letters are Juan Cristobal, David V. Whiting, William C. Skinner, Joseph D. Ellis, Jacobs, Burtnell, Griffin, Rumley, Dr. Woodhouse, Robert Berry, Dr. Mallory, Major Giddings, Rudolph, Debus, Ashurst, Bunker, Sabin, Brown, Kelly, Jeaunerett, and Speigleberg.

The "Loyd Beall" discussed in Manuscripts Number 129 and 143 was Colonel Benjamin Lloyd Beall, U.S.A., Commander of the Military Department, and the soldier who was at the head of the first military expedition which penetrated the mountains in an unsuccessful effort to recover the material abandoned by the Fremont party. It was Beall, also, who issued the call for the first Territorial Convention of New Mexico.

Santa Fe Sept 10th 1851

Dear Ned (E.M.Kern):-

Yours from Lodi moro was duly received but I have had no opportunity to act upon your kind caution as the gentleman has not made his appearance in Santa Fe.

Dick (R.H.Kern) left this place charging in buckram or buckskin rather, with the prospect of an agreable time; old bull head caved in, before the command arrived at Zuni; he being anxious for information from quarters that he had as much as refused, but I think he will find out that, the order to raise camp and move forward, wont lead to water nor grass, neither will it find the Indians, although for that matter those same Injuns have been to see us here, they made a descent upon the Arroya Honda near this place and helped themselves as usual.

The last news I had from Dick was at the pueblo of Zuni where the command was encamped but expecting to leave in the curse of four or five days; since then I have had no news of them. All the letters for Dick that arrived in the last mail were sent by a man that had been sent back from the command for that purpose.

Stocks are as follows: Government patronage company, Gov. J. S. Calhoun, Director. R. H. Weightman, Cashier, quoted at par and raising it being ascertained that Weightman is elected Delegate. The Eight Dollars a five aga corn company, Uncle Sam Director and Capt Reynolds Cashier, quoted below par and falling fast. cause. Reynolds' beat. Devil of a funny time we've had of it too, I for one standing back, like the old woman in the bear fight, didnt care a d-m which whipped, so I have enjoyed the recriminations, invectives and d-m rascals of both sides & I assure you they fly about pretty tolerable thick. Of course Col Calhoun comes in for his share.

We have not heard the entire facts of a lamentable affair that occured in the Ranches of Albuquerque, but it seems that some americans went up there to take the polls as has been the custom with the Q.M.D. whenever they could, and got the worst of the fight; one man being killed on the

spot and several others wounded, any how it will learn them a lesson; of course the Gov. is accused of having given written instructions to have all this done &c.

Judge Baker has been as tight as a drum or as tight as Dr Wirte (?) which you can appreciate, ever since the opening of the court, which makes it very bad, as he is, in my opinion, a man of at least fine legal talents, and it is a pity to see talent of any kind disgraced & degraded by a filthy habit of drunkeness; having a bust is quite another thing & quite proper to a resident of Santa Fe or Taos.

Col Brooks and a red headed Artillery luminary are the only officers here at present and everything is quite quiet.

Dr Mallory takes with him a box of pictures for you which I hope will arrive safe; he is of that boundary commission which at present appears to be very small punkins. Squire Collins leaves also in a few days for the states when I will write again to you and send also some tissue paper facsimile signatures of Juan de Onate and others - that is if I succeed any better when I try again.

I finished with the help of Bob Perry that thing you left and I can assure you according to the expressed opinion of naturalists that there are some very natural mistakes, in the part I did, however it does very well.

I have in my possession all the brushes, paints canvass &c left in my care by Dick so that you wont have the trouble that you formerly had in that respect.

I washed your face and hung it up over my table in my room, where I hope to see you before long.

Yours Truly,
(H. L.) Dickinson

P.S. I sent a letter Dick wrote to Joe Wolfe, also I wrote to Messrs Slaughter & Bro of Independence about trunks of said Mr. Joe.

Dick(inson)

To
(E.M.Kern, Esq.)

(Manuscript Number 142)

Santa Fe Oct 31st/51

Dear Dick (R. H. Kern):-

Enclosed please find the facsimilies you wished me to make; the first is an endorsement on perhaps the oldest paper of all, date 1621, 9th of Jan. little over or rather almost 231 years old; next Domingo Ji...(?), captain general in 1865, next Antonio de Otermin, captain general in 1682, didnt he have a funny seal; then Nicholas Lucero de Godoy, and then, Miguel Enriquer, Sec of war &c., then Zapata Lujan, I suppose the first of the race of the interminable Lujans in this country, then Diego de Vargas in 1694, capt gen; then the funniest of all Alfonso del Rio, isnt his a funny one. I reckon ink was scarce in those days, but from the appearance of the papers what there was of their ink was very good as the writing appears much darker than this of mine. Some of these days I will make another effort to find the signature of Juan de Onate, Bustamente & others of the Conquistadores, Scretchetary (sic) Allen is rambunctious that I should make some also for him, I suppose turned antiquarian, Eh! He was quite anxious for them but I told him they were for otro pinto & some for him, so I did, but I reckon he'll wait a while 'till I do. Next time I go at it I'll get Dave Whiting with his letter press tissue paper and all & perhaps I can make them more correct. I tried to make them with ink but it dont do very well.

I have attended to all your requests that you sent me from (the) Navajo country, except goin to see your landlady, but I will attend to that also soon.

I believe I wrote you about the evacuation of the church &c., well the next news of interest to you an(d) melancholy, that is the death of our friend W. C. Skinner, assassinated by the G-d d-d Greasers of the ranches of Albuquerque, with Juan Cristobal Armijo at the head of them, however I send you two papers of this place which will tell you all, or nearly all about it. I dont

know when I have seen as much excitement about anything, for a long time, for he had a great many friends in this country. As soon as I heard of it I called a special meeting of I. O. O. F. as he was a member of our fraternity, and we sent J. D. Ellis to the Rio Abajo to have his remains brought to this place for interment according to our forms, and that he might lie where his resting place might be sacred, we did it all without any outside fuss or otherwise, and as you can see from the papers accompanying this, in the way such things should be done. We are watching now individually for vengeance and some of these days we will slap up the man or men, that killed him & then it will be our turn.

Capt Reynolds left here some few days since, but he did not leave without some trouble for the Sheriff brought him back with an attachment because he didnt pay one of his security debts; he fixed it somehow and then made another start. I am inclined to think the Capt expects trouble when he arrives in Washington for before he left he went around and had itemized accounts made out of all the business he has done in the Territory he is also contesting the recent election with Maj Weightman, dont know how it will turn out.

I have called on Don Carlos Blummer several times for the $102.00 but nix, is all I have received as yet. I told him the other day that I would receipt to him in instalments for it, If I could not get it in a lump, however Prussion blue sends his very best respects.

By the way a very curious letter arrived here by the Oct mail, a relative to Joe D. Ellis written to him by one (of) his friends in Philada, the letter said that one had been received from this place stating that he, J. D. E. spent his time & money in gambling and drunkeness, charges you know are as false as anything can be, so if you hear any thing of the kind in Philad you can tell the promulgators that it is a d-d lie. We have given Joe all sorts of testimonials from the Lod(g)e (for odd fellows) from the Gov. & Sec of Territory for the jinte grande and from the

merchants & citizens under the seal of the court for tother folks. Funny aren't it, that one of the steadiest should be so belied.

Day before yesterday a murder was committed here by one Mexy upon another, Coula the cause, although the husband has delivered over his wife to the embraces of other men several times before, he did not like that she should do it of her own accord & so shot the man in the head that helped her.

Your old washerwoman has had a baby. Legal father known - real father unknown, funny aint it?

Mike's as happy as Beef & Semetas can make him, considerably rambulgent with strangers, and not over particular with acquaintances.

Give my respects to Joe Wolfe & to any one else that chooses to ask about me, although except, Joe, Ned & yourself I havent an acquaintance in Philadelphia.

Yours Truly in F. L. & T.
Dickinson

To
(R. H. Kern, Esq)

(Manuscript Number 143)

Santa Fe Nov 30th 1851

Dear Dick (R. H. Kern):-

The long lost has at last been found, that is, the sketch book which you left, you must have left it in Jacob's store, and some of his clerks thinking it some book of the store laid it away, any how Joe Ellis found it a week or two ago and mailed it, so I hope you will receive it safe; when I was looking for it I enquired there as well as every where else and no one seemed to know any thing of the matter- better late than never.

Beautiful doins in Bernallio county. Two of the supposed murderers of Burtnell (?) on the Grand Jury & I dont know how many aunts and cousins of J. C. Armijo, so of course no bill was found! And poor Skinner lies in his grave unavenged, well it cant be helped, but I hope at some future time that the case may be different.

Loyd Beall leaves in a few days to be Court Martialed for disobedience of orders and unofficerlike conduct. I havent much sympathy for Loyd but still I dont like Col Munroe's monkey much better, he, Loyd is still liable to have the charge of duelling preferred against him, but from what I can hear it is not likely to be done - so he may get off with a reprimand, quine sabe.

The Santa Fe Emetic still continues its weekly twaddle about Col Sumner, but I myself think that neither the one nor the other know exactly what they are about, though my private opinion is that Major Weightman's influence, is the cause of the distressing economy of the Govt., it is a false one in my opinion & I think the Col will find it so. Some of the officers feel quite cut up about it saying that it degrades the army &c.

I havnt seen nor heard from Capt Shoeboots since you left; that tremendous fire eater Griffin is somewhere but I dont exactly know where. Tata Greiner has been making a tour among

the Pueblos and seems quite pleased with his visit, he is sick now with the inflamatory two story, like yourself, caused by the exposure to the cold, bugs lice & squaws, very dangerous antagonists sometimes. Tata Gobenador & him just made the usual winter peace with the Utahs & got back some 6 or 7 horses & mules, quite an improvement; I suppose the peace will last as long as usual, i.e. 'till snow goes off. G(reiner) says it is probable that he will in the spring go to the place you mentioned, and if he finds anything will have it delivered to me. He could not go this fall for want of an escort.

I have written twice to Dr Wirte but have received no answer. Old Rumley has reformed and joined the I. O. O. F., however he makes quite as much noise as ever whenever he gets a little hoarse he takes half a barrel of whiskey and goes into the country for a day or two to reinvigorate his lungs. Rudolph is flourishing like a green bay horse.

By the way that d-d warrant has not been paid & I cant find out when it will be, either it is to be paid out of Legislative fund and Sec. Allen says he has no money under that denomination. I had, as I wrote in my last, made an arrangement with Prussian blue to pay it and when he was about to pay it he discovered that it was as I said above. So Joe Ellis sent your note to Messrs Becker & Weilber, 193 Nth 3rd Street Philada so you may expect to have the thing poked at you by about the time you receive this; however the Legislature of this beautiful pais meets tomorrow & I will see what can be got out of them. If I collect it I will send it by next mail - if not, patience, perseverance & a little sweet oil will do a great deal with this world and if I dont get it one way I will another.

Old Hooster of Jamor has seen his portrait in Simpson's Report and appears highly delighted. Ashurst & Bob Brent have been elected members of this Leg-is-late-ure; when Bob has anything to say I expect the spirit will move him as it always has, he may have to take yeast

to make him rise like the old woman with her husband in the same case.

Our Lodge is flourishing finely, we have initiated Giddings, Rumley, Mayer, Kelly, Debus & Bunker, Whiting, Sabin, Brown, Jeaunerratt, Grandpeau, J. G. Jones, the Marshall, Blummer (Prussian Blue), Tully, Hockstader, Speigleberg and others.

I suppose Ned (E. M. Kern) is on his road back here by this time as I have not heard from him since his departure.

Piety is on the increase (another minister and wife arrived) Mike barks out his respects to you every now and then. He appears to be quite delighted when he can get hold of a blanket; he and Frank are famous friends. Give my respects to Ned and believe

Yours Truly in F. L. & T
Dickinson

To
(R. H. Kern, Esq)

The Fort Sutter Papers

Kern's Homeward Journey

(after six years of adventure)

In which he discovers

A New Route from Santa Fé

Together with Notes of

His Passage of the Sierras in 1846

In company with Walker

And advice given by him

Concerning the Necessary Equipment For Overland Travel

1851

Introduction to Volume XXXIV

EDWARD KERN, as has been seen in Volume XXXII, joined the Simpson Party in 1849, and thereafter until 1851 he devoted himself to the duties attendant on that Expedition's exploration of the unknown regions of the Southwest. During this period he again took up his work as an artist, which had of necessity been put aside during the more strenuous activities of his California career, and the resulting series of views and maps contained in Volume XXXIX (which are the joint work of Richard and himself) reveal pictorially the travels and scientific studies in which the two brothers were engaged.

With the completion of the Simpson explorations, Edward Kern's work in the far west came to an end. It is peculiarly fitting, therefore, that (despite all the vicissitudes of time and adventure through which these papers have passed) the letter describing his homeward journey and the termination of his career in the west should have survived, now to be joined in comradeship with the message he wrote from Westport more than six years before, at the outset of his wanderings.

Manuscript Number 144 is the original draft of the letter describing this last trip, and was written in October of 1851 (probably to Simpson). Once more he was back home, not again—so far as known—to tread the wilderness trails or to see, save with memory's eye, those regions where he had wandered, and in which he had played so excellent a part.

Quite aside from the sentimental interest attaching to its survival, the letter is of value as the first description of a new overland travel route between Independence and Santa Fe which was discovered by Kern on his return eastward, and which he discusses in this message.

The two concluding documents (Numbers 146 and 147) likewise deal with overland travel and its conditions as experienced by Kern. The first of these is of an especial interest, being Kern's own account of his passage through the mountains and entrance into California in 1846. The manner in which he discusses the road then taken by himself and Walker, together with other possible passes and the relative gradients of each, suggests that it was written as an aid to Richard Kern, when Richard was preparing his report to Senator Gwin regarding the best route for a transcontinental railroad. (See Vol. XXXVII.)

The final manuscript is a statement evidently designed for the guidance of an overland party. In it Kern goes into details regarding the equipment required for a company of twenty men. He tells them what sort of wagons to use; what particular saddles to obtain; and the number of mules necessary both

for riding and for the vehicles. The certainty of his knowledge pertaining to such matters, and the care with which he had made his calculations, is illuminated by one of his statements. He says: "Six months' rations for twenty men weigh nine thousand three hundred and seventy-two pounds." His figures show that for a nine months' trip by twenty men the transportation requirements were ten six-mule wagons, one four-mule wagon, nine saddle mules, and six extra animals. Each man, he remarks, should be armed with a rifle and revolver. Such were the essential requirements for overland travel during the period in which Edward Kern qualified as an expert on the subject.

(Manuscript Number 144)

Philadelphia Oct - 1851

My dear Sir:-

I received yours of July 22, 1851 just as I was about leaving for St Louis. It is a source of pleasure to me to know that yourself and family are enjoying good health & that you appear well satisfied with your present tour of duty.

I left Santa Fe on the 1st of August in company with Capt Pope of your Corps and arrived at Leavenworth about the 11th of Sept., by a new route not shortening the old one any, but a far preferable one on account of grass, wood & water.

We left the Cimmarron route about Cedar Spring, & travelled in a northernly direction crossing the Cimmarron R., & from thence to Butte Creek, an affluent of the Arkansas, entering it above Choteau's I., this creek we followed down some distance finding good grass, wood & water in abundance. This route cuts off all the Jornados on the Cimarron route, is a fine level prairie country & free from heavy sand. From the Arkansas we went on to the Smoky Hill Fork, in hopes of finding a road suitable for wagons, so as to continue down that stream to near Leavenworth - but the country is so much broken as to render it almost impracticable for wagons. On our second day on this stream the Indians Estampeded 12 out of 26 animals (the best, of course) Here we were obliged to abandon one wagon, and five of us started on the best Beasts remaining for the settlements for succor- these gave out before we got to Council Grove & then we took it afoot.

The new route that Capt P., proposed to follow on his return will be from Ft. L. up the Kansas & S.H.F.(Smoky Hill Fork) to the most southerly point (as marked on Fremont's M(ap) of '44) of the latter, then up the creek that enters at that point, as far as may be practicable, from thence to the Pawnee fork & if necessary up that stream till about opposite to Choteau's I. there to join with our homeward route. This route, though it will not shorten the distance, having the advantage of continuous streams & but small distances between them will amply make up for any distance in the travel.

(E.M.Kern)

To
(?)

(Manuscript Number 145)

Philada Nov 13 1851

Dear Sir:-

Your letter of the 24 Oct has just been placed in my hands, I having been absent in the country on a visit.

In answer I would say, that not knowing but the delay caused by my not having received your letter sooner, may have made you make other arrangements - should you still be in the same mind please telegraph me stating if you want anything in from the Bureau &c should I go out I will tend to it.

In haste, Respy
Your obdt servt
Edw. M. Kern

To
Lt J. H. Simpson
Topgl Engrs
U. S. A.
St Pauls
Minasota Ty.

Refer to Fremont's M(ap) of '45 and taking the Pilot Peak as the point of Departure we enter a country much broken by isolated ranges of Low Mts., a running nearly N & S - alternated by Sandy Valleys - very little grass & scarcity of water of water and Wood - untill you approach Mary's or Humbolts R. when the country becomes more rolling and vegetation increases, the course of this stream you will find on the map - tis very crooked in its own bed. Large Timber scarce, Willows in abundance but the river is bordered by high sandy bluffs devoid of vegatation except some scattering bunch grass in its bottoms, the grass is generally good - this is about the character of the R. till it sinks.

Leaving this point ~~you-enter~~ a country our road was through a country much in character like that through which you passed after leaving the Colorado, broken by low basaltic Ridges. Fremont has marked a chain of Mts running nearly east & west, we crossed this Mt near the Sierra Nevada & I only consider as a spur of the main Mountain which could be avoided by keeping more to the East, this is also Walker's opinion.

There are no obstacles from the Sink of H.R. to the head of Kern's R. save this, which it is doubtful if it exists as all the broken chains of Mountains among which we passed ran nearly in a parallel direction with the great Sierra.

The entrance to the main mountain by our route of '45 was so gradual that twas hardly noticed - The River forms a Canon through which it runs - We were unable to travel it by that route if so I should think it might be made a good road if so I should think it would be an xcellent pass ~~through the-Mts~~ into the Valley of the San Joaquin. before entering the Mountains the Country on our left opens into a large sandy plain broken only by a isolated Basaltic Rocky peaks - in our first ascent we could see the peaks of the Mountains in the vicinity of the Mohave & there can be no difficulty in crossing from the Mohave to this point.

Our descent into the Valley was broken & rough though not at all difficult. The mean temperature at this point of the mountain from Dec 27 to Jan 17 was at 0 26, noon 60, and at Oset 52; the snow was about 2 1/2 feet deep on the highest peaks on the 20 Jany. A better road might be found ~~through-this~~

---

x For a descent into the Valley
x cept a scarcity of Water & fuel but the Country is a level sandy plain.

pass-as but we travelled it under the disadvantage of snow & an anxiety to reach the Valley by the shortest possible way - with out much regard to our road for any future practicability for wagons.

This is the only pass in the mountains South of the present emigrant trail via the South pass, this I know, having travelled down the whole eastern side of the Sierra from near that point; there may be a way through by head of Owen's R. but not for wagons & I think it doubtful even for mules.

(E. M. Kern)

To
?

From the frontier to the base of the Rocky Mountains, or main dividing ridge, Wagon transportation should be used, on account of its greater convenience and less expense - fewer mules being required than by the pack train.

A depot can be readily established in the mountains for the wagons and great bulk of the stores - and from which the different working parties can be easily supplied by means of pack transportation - this will not only facilitate the work but also leave a supply of fresh animals always on hand in case of emergency.

Six months rations for twenty men weigh nine thousand three hundred and seventy two pounds, and the weight of instruments, camp equipage &c will increase the amount to be transported to about eleven thousand five hundred pounds, requiring twelve four-mule wagons for its carriage, one for the Instruments to be light, and furnished with Springs - Thirty pack Saddles (Grimsley's X true pattern) and eighteen riding Saddles will be sufficient.

*** ******* ******* ******* ***

48 Mules for the Wagons
8 " " Riding
6 " Extra
Each man rifle & revolver.

*** ******* ******* ******* ***

3 four-mule Wagons	4	12	16	28m
9 mos - 10 six-mule Wagons & 1 4-mule				64
9 for Riding				
6 Extra				15
				79
12 mos- 13 six-mule & 1 4-mule				82
Riding				6
extra				6
				94

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Effort
Made by Lieutenant Kern in 1851
to
Obtain a Grant of Public Land
in Return for
His Services in California
and the
Hostility of Regular Army Officers
toward
Fremont's Work in the West

1851

Introduction to Volume XXXV

THESE manuscripts show that Lieutenant Kern was one of the large number of men involved in the events of 1846 and 1847 who failed to receive the recompense due to them for their services in the California Conquest, and who thereafter were obliged to petition or sue the government in an endeavor to obtain redress.

The entire subject of the "California Claims" was an extremely complicated one and engrossed the attention of both Congress and the courts for many years. It will easily be appreciated from a study of numerous manuscripts in the Fort Sutter Papers having particular reference to the Bear Flag period and the succeeding administrations of Sloat, Stockton, Montgomery, Fremont, and Hull, that the men who achieved the conquest acted in an emergency and were wholly unsupported by those orderly and methodical processes of government on which reliance is ordinarily placed. Property was forcibly seized, men employed, services accepted, and other obligations incurred which it was impossible for the slender fund then on the coast to meet. Hence it is not surprising that the government, following the war, found itself involved in hundreds of claims arising therefrom and aggregating millions of dollars, among which was that of Edward Kern.

Manuscript Number 149 bears testimony to another matter of more moment than the claim for his unpaid services in California. In it Kern again speaks of the loss of his papers while in the mountains with Fremont, and the letter, therefore, is still another instance in which Kern links his Fort Sutter records with the historic and tragic events that took place in New Mexico in 1848–9.

The final document, Number 150, is a letter from Kern's representative in Washington, and sheds light on the controversy that still raged over the deeds and conditions with which the Fort Sutter Papers deal. It asserts the "difficulty in regard to everything relating to Fremont's doings in California," and attributes it to "the opposition of officers of the regular army."

(Manuscript Number 148)

Washington D.C.
Oct 8. 1851

Dear Sir:-

In reply to your favor of the 1st Inst I have only to say that Lt Loker's claims are yet in Status quo.- in regard to which I have communicated with him.

In your own case you left no papers with me to authorize your application for land or Money due to you, and hence no steps for the recovery of either has been taken.

I enclose you a form for your bounty land which you can fill up & send to me. & for any other claims please send me the necessary documents. I regret to learn your indisposition, & that you are not able to visit Washington.

Very respectfully yrs
R.Burgess

To
Edwd. M. Kern, Esq
Phila.

(Manuscript Number 149)

Philada Oct 11/51

Dear Sir:-

Accompanying this I send you my Commission as Lt. in the California Batt. I am unable to fill up the form as I have no dates, having lost them in the Mountains with Fremont.

As my Claim is of the same nature as Lokers, you can find on the Muster Rolls in the Adjt. Genl's office all the information - & if you will, you can fill up a form & send to me for my signature.

Take care of my Comm(ission) & return.

Resply
Your obdt servt
E. M. Kern

P.S. I should like much to visit your city, but cannot at present - K

To
Mr R.Burgess
Washington, D.C.

(Manuscript Number 150)

Washington D.C.
Nov 4. 1851

Dear Sir:-

Inclosed you will find the papers filled up as requested - except a few blanks which you can supply. When duly executed and authenticated please return to me.

Altho I cannot promise you a very speedy decision upon them - yet when settled I promise to give you immediate information & returns.

There always has been & still is much difficulty in regard to everything relating to Fremont's doings in California; growing out of the opposition of Officers of the regular Army, which I shall use every effort to have removed during the coming session of Congress.

Respectfully
Yr ob Sevt
R.Burgess

To
E. M. Kern, Esq.
Phila
62 Filbert St.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Letters from Antoine Robidoux

The Trapper and Guide

Written

In His Age and Affliction

and

Asking Lieutenant Kern's Aid

in behalf of

His Bill before Congress

for

Unpaid Services in California

St. Joseph
1857

Introduction to Volume XXXVI

ANTOINE ROBIDOUX was the guide who led General Kearny and his little army on their forced and difficult march across the deserts and mountains from Santa Fe to California. He, and the scarcely less celebrated Leroux and Fallon, constitute a trio of the great guides, hunters, and mountaineers of the early west who are represented by manuscripts of unusual quality among these Papers. (See Vol. XIV, and Vol. XXXI, Manuscript Number 130.)

It is not customarily befitting to speak, in historical commentaries such as these, regarding the rarity of particular writings, but once in a long time it does become justifiable—even in still more exceptional instances, obligatory—to comment on that phase of a document in addition to its other inherent features of interest. Such a case presents itself now. These three men—Robidoux, Leroux, and Fallon—were among the famous figures in an epoch that is fast becoming legendary, and their deeds were saturated with a valor, endurance, strength, craft, and heroism no longer needed by men of this later day or to be found among them. Furthermore, the very conditions under which they lived made them men of action rather than of written words. They wrote with the rifle and hunting knife. Their eloquence lay in achievements; in the swiftness and sureness with which they met the emergencies of those times and surroundings.

The student of the pioneer west can name about a score of characters to whom were really due our first authentic knowledge of its vast expanse. Other names than theirs are more commonly recorded on history's printed page, but it was to them, rather than to those temporary sojourners whom they guided, directed, and advised, that the credit in truth belongs. No other group of history-making Americans left scantier written records of their existence and work, and the few such autographic scraps now known are treasured in proportion to their rarity and to the appreciation of their possessors. Embraced within these volumes are letters written by three of this group, and to any student of the early west manuscripts of such rarity and significance must assuredly possess a quality not to be found in the writings of other men whose loftier official station has endowed them with a wider renown.

Antoine Robidoux was born in St. Louis, then a little French trading post, in the year 1794. He became a citizen of the United States through the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France. His life in the far west began about 1830, and for fifteen years thereafter he roamed its all but trackless wilds, absorbing by ceaseless experience those attributes which came to distinguish him. Mention of the man is occasionally found in chronicles left by a few individuals who adventured there. Rufus Sage, among others, is one who speaks

of him. Sage says he met Robidoux in the summer of 1842, and joined him in an expedition to the Uintah River country.

By 1845 Robidoux, then fifty-one years old, but still unbroken by hardship, shared with "Old Bill" Williams the reputation of being the best equipped mountaineer of the Southwest. It was to Robidoux, consequently, that General Kearny turned when he had need for a man of supreme ability and resource as a guide and interpreter on the way to California. Robidoux did the work, and at the Battle of San Pascual he was run through and severely wounded by a Mexican cavalryman who pierced him with a lance. He recovered and remained in California until 1847, when he went eastward into the mountains again.

Eleaser Ingalls, in the manuscript narrative of his overland journey, written from day to day in 1850, mentions Robidoux as being at Scott's Bluff, and says he was then maintaining a trading post between Chimney Rock and Fort Laramie. Soon after that period he again went back to California, but in 1856 he left the frontier for the last time and retired to the town of St. Joseph, in Missouri, which settlement had been founded by his brother.

It was from St. Joseph, in 1857, that Robidoux sent the letters to Edward Kern that are here preserved. They relate to the bill for his relief then before Congress, and ask his friend of former days to aid him by a testimony that his plea is a just one. When the first letter was sent the former guide was not only bed-ridden but afflicted by temporary blindness, and the letter in consequence had to be written for him. The second letter, of a date nearly five months later, records the old mountaineer as still bedfast, but a little better, and by his own use of the pen he showed that the trouble with his eyes had decidedly improved. Again he craves Kern's help.

From the date of the last letter he failed steadily. His former iron constitution was broken at last, and three years later, in 1860, just after receiving the Congressional pension to which these letters relate, he died.

(Manuscript Number 151)

Ed. M. Kerns Esq
New York.

I have lately received a letter from your brother in Philadelphia who informs me you are at present in New York, and this I enclose to him to be forwarded to you.

I am sorry to say I am now and have been for a long while confined, but am now down with a greater affliction than ever in addition to the total loss of my eyes I am afflicted with Dropsy.

My present object in writing is to beg to call your immediate attention to the following enclosed paper, my object is to have it duly certified by you and returned to me immediately, so that I may present it before coming Congress.

Now my dear friend on your perusal of the items charged you well know they are more than just and (I) therefore trust you will give it your immediate attention & much oblige,

Yours Vey Respy
Antoine Robidoux
(per) Climon

P.S. This Bill has already been before Congress and passed that House, but was dropped in the Senate for want of proofs such as I now ask of you.

To
E.M.Kern

(Manuscript Number 152)

St Joseph Nov 7th 1857

Mr Edward M.Kern
Dr Sir:-

In haste I write you these few lines, and I am sorry to say that I am confined to my Bed, with the Dropsy and have been since 1st of March, I am a little better.

I sent some Documents to your Brother in Philadelphia, which he informs me, that he forwarded them to you, I hope Dear friend you have received them, and will take it, as a great favor, if you will give it your attention.

You can give these papers to Mr. I.S. Edwards my attorney whom I have employed to do my business, any other informations he may require, please inform him. Glad to hear from you accept my best respects & believe me

Yours Respectfully
Antoine Robidoux

To
E. M. Kern, Esq.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Richard Kern's
Manuscript Report of 1853

on the

Overland Transcontinental Routes

Explored by him

and the

Best Route for a Railroad

to

The Pacific Coast

as

Submitted to Senator Gwin

of California

1853

Introduction to Volume XXXVII

THE long report herein contained, with its attendant maps, is Richard Kern's description of the route advocated by him for the first transcontinental railway. It is entirely in his hand, and entitled: "Letter in reply to one from the Hon. W. M. Gwin, U. S. Senator, in reference to Pacific Railroad. Jan 10, 1853." The date establishes it as one of the earliest known manuscripts of the sort written by an explorer who had crossed the continent to California and knew, from personal observation and knowledge, whereof he spoke.

Popular agitation in favor of a railroad from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Coast had steadily been increasing since 1832, when Hartwell Carver published (in the *Courier and Inquirer* of New York) the earliest known discussion on the subject. The acquisition of California in 1846–7, the closely following discovery of gold in 1848, the erection of California into a state, and her demand for closer physical union with the east, removed the subject from the realm of debate and made it a matter of necessity and certainty.

Among the acts of the first California legislature was a resolution which read in part: "First: Be it resolved that our senators be instructed, and our representatives requested, to urge upon congress the importance of authorizing as soon as possible the construction of a national railroad from the Pacific to the Mississippi River. Second: Resolved, that they be further instructed to urge upon the national government, with a view to facilitate the accomplishment of the great work contemplated in the first resolution, the immediate organization of an efficient engineer corps, to make complete surveys and explorations of the several routes which have been recommended to public notice as practicable for the line of said road."

California's first Senators were Fremont and Gwin, and upon them, therefore, fell the principal duties and responsibilities growing out of the state's action. Gwin laid the legislative resolutions before the Federal Senate in December of 1850, and took a leading part thereafter, as Chairman of the Committee on Pacific Railroads, in the movement that finally resulted in the extensive surveys begun by the government in 1853. To the Act under which the surveys were authorized he added an amendment (which was adopted) providing that "in making such explorations and surveys the engineers and other persons employed may be directed to act in concert with any engineers or other persons employed by any individual or individuals, association or associations, for the same general objects."

Four or five possible routes for the proposed railroad had been variously advocated. The slavery issue and other matters related to national politics had

become involved, as it was obvious that a transcontinental travel route built through the northern and non-slavery states by means of governmental resources belonging to all the states in common, would strengthen the North far more than it would benefit the South. The opposite alternative was equally true, and hence the question of route developed into a sectional issue of far-reaching consequence, not to be decided until after the outbreak of the Civil War.

In spite of these elements of discord, it remained true that the actual building of such a mechanical highway was an engineering problem, and that the geography and topography of the region to be traversed was, within certain limits, the decisive factor to be considered. Hence it was that the men on whom ultimate decision rested—such as Gwin—sought the judgment of others, such as the Kerns, who had intimate knowledge of western conditions gained through personal experience of travel there.

This report by Richard Kern was prepared as a result of Senator Gwin's request for information, and as might be supposed, strongly advocates the southern route as the best one for the proposed railroad. The manuscript discusses distances, the nature of the country involved, the natural obstacles to be overcome, the resources of the region and their availability for construction work, the passes through the mountains, and such other matters as came within Kern's province as an explorer in the region he discusses. As a result of his own experiences and observations he urges as the most practicable a route from the Missouri frontier to the Valley of the Rio Grande, and thence to the Valley of the San Joaquin in California by way of Walker's Pass.

Accompanying Kern's written analysis are three large manuscript maps, drawn by him and delineating the country and route under discussion. These maps are tracings from the earlier ones made by Edward Kern while he was topographer attached to Simpson's Expedition, the original printed copies of which will be found in the final volume.

The letter of Major Backus, containing information Kern has incorporated into his report, is also preserved herein. Backus gives news to Kern of all the latest reconnaissances made by Major Kendrick and Lieutenant Schroeder in the Zuñi and Moqui regions, and discusses the nature of the country penetrated by them from the standpoint of possible railroad construction.

The Fate of Richard Kern

KERN'S manuscript report to Senator Gwin is dated January 10th, 1853, and the document itself is an important link in the chain of circumstances that resulted in his tragic death nine months later. The preceding Introduction has outlined the preliminary (and apparently innocuous) events which contained the germ of the tragedy. First of all was the act of the California legislature in instructing Gwin and his colleague to secure governmental surveys and explorations which might determine the best route for a transcontinental railway. Next came Gwin's action, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Pacific Railroads, in procuring the authorization of such surveys by Congress and enlisting Richard Kern's aid and coöperation in the explorationary work.

Upon the organization of the several surveying parties, Richard Kern became the topographer and artist of the party commanded by Captain Gunnison, whose duty was to explore and map the regions near the 38th and 39th parallels, from the mouth of the Kansas to the Sevier River, in the Great Basin. The explorers left the Kansas on June 23rd, and were joined at Taos by Antoine Leroux, who thereafter was the party's guide. Thence the expedition's route followed the San Luis Valley, Sawatch Valley, Coochetopa Pass, the Uncompahgre Valley, Grand River (on which Robidoux had formerly built a fort), and the old Spanish Trail.

Gunnison, Kern, and the rest then crossed Green River and followed the Spanish Trail through Wahsatch Pass, reaching a point near Seven Lakes, and by October 26th had arrived at Cedar Springs on their return.

On that day the explorers were surprised and ambushed by hostile Indians, and Gunnison, Kern, and Creutzfeldt (the botanist) were massacred in the short and desperate fight which ensued. The remainder of the party succeeded in escaping, and eventually reached Salt Lake.

Thus died the second of the three Kerns. Both had emulated their brother Edward in entering upon a career of western exploration and adventure. Benjamin had perished in an effort to recover the Fort Sutter records, and Richard met his untimely fate in a continuation of the work asked of him by Senator Gwin, of which this manuscript was a part.

The large map and thirteen engravings resulting from this expedition, done from Richard Kern's sketches and constituting his final work, were published by the Government in 1855.

(Manuscript Number 153)

Phila. Jany 5th 1853

Dear Sir:-

Your note of the 3rd. inst, in reference to a road from Fort Defiance N.M. to the Seven Villages of Moqui, is just recd, and I will cheerfully give the little information I possess on this subject.

The distance from Fort Defiance, by a careful estimation, is about ninety miles (due west) - to the first Village of Moqui - & about 120 miles to the 7th Village. No road has been opened between the two points. Lt Schroeder, 3rd Infy, made a reconnaisance of the route, by my order, with the view of opening a wagon road, and he found the route practicable, & reported that a road could easily be opened, with a few laborers - that it would require but little more work than was requisite at intervals, to cut away the timber.

The Moqui Indians raise corn & wheat & have usually a large surplus of corn. They brought it through to Fort Defiance upon mules, & burros, for a market. The Seven Villages are estimated by Dr Tenbroeck, who accompanied Lt Schroeder, to contain about 10,000 souls. As they are habitually hard laborers, I am not certain that they can not be advantageously employed as laborers upon any road to be constructed. The Moqui are said to have produced much larger crops, the last season than usual. I have reason to believe such is the fact, because the Zunians, have quadrupled their fields. Lt Schroeder & myself estimated their fields of corn and wheat, to cover 10,000 acres, when we passed them in August last. I think the Moqui cultivate more ground, habitually than the Zunians.

Fort Defiance, is hardly on the route for a road to the Pacific. My impression is, it should follow the road from Zunio to Fort Defiance, as far as Colites, 23 miles below Fort Defiance, & thence proceed direct to Moqui. The Indians say, this is the best & shortest route, & has the most water upon it. There is an abundance of timber, (pine) & stone, between Zunio and Moqui, & a large bed of semi-bituminous coal, twelve miles from

Zunio on the road. There is but little snow on this route, during the winter - in 1852 I do not think it exceeded 6 inches, while forty miles north of Fort Defiance, it was four or five feet deep.

There is much broken and hilly ground between Zunio and Moqui - but it is not in any respect so formidable as the route over which the Pennsylvania road passes, East of Pittsburgh. Water is abundant, in places, but, at intervals of ten, fifteen, or twenty miles, at times.

I know nothing of the Ojo del Oso, except from the Indians and traders. It has a good supply of water & is surrounded by timber. Maj. Kendrick is now about to open a wagon road from the Gallio, to the Oso & thence to Fort Defiance. It will shorten the road about 40 miles, by estimation.

My impression is, that no very formidable obstacle to a rail road will be found between the Rio Grande & Little Colorado, west of Moqui. The route is well worth a minut examination, & in my opinion presents fewer obstacles than any other, named.

I expect to be in Washington, about the 20th, and might come on earlier, if Philadelphia was less agreable. I am only waiting for the meeting of our Court, which takes place in Washington on the 25th.

Yours Truly
E. Backus

To
(R.H.Kern, Esq.)

(Manuscript Number 154)

Latitude of extreme points of each route - exact where practicable, in other cases, approximate.

Height of passes on the Fort Smith route

	Anton Chico	6000	
		500	Albu.
do "	South Pass route	7200	S.P.
	Cuochutoka, Appx	10000	

Estimated distance from mouth of Platte, via South Pass, to Walker's Pass.

Estimated distance from Kansas, via Benton's route to Walker's Pass.

Estimated distance from Fort Smith, via Albuquerque to Walker's Pass.

*** ****** ****** ****** ***

Smoky Hill July 10th 38° 52' 22"
" " July 19th 38° 43' 32"

(Endorsed on back):
Questions about Pacific R.Road
Allen & Corbin.

(Manuscripts Nos. 155,156 and 157 were manuscript maps: see printed index)

(Manuscript Number 158)

Washington 10th Jany 1853

Dear Sir:-

In answer to yours of the 1st inst.asking for any information I may possess regarding the shortest and most practicable route for the mail trunk of a Rail Road from the Western frontier to the Pacific Ocean, I respectfully offer the following notes and accompanying map for your consideration.

The route from the frontier, say near the boundary of Missouri and Arkansas, to the Valley of the Rio Grande, New Mexico, and then to the Valley of the San Joaquin, California, by what is called Walker's route, presents in my opinion, fewer obstacles and more facilities than any other. Its principal advantages are its directness, following mostly the 35th parallel of latitude, near which are the prominent points of Memphis, Albaquerque, Zuni, and Walker's pass, in the Sierra Nevada. Its freedom from obstruction by snow. Its easy passage through the Rocky Mountains, Zuni Mountains and Sierra Nevada; and its location through a country already settled in a more or less degree as far (as) the 110 meridian west from Greenwich - and where the necessary material and labor can be obtained - and only needing an outlet to develope its various resources. Its ~~principal and only objection~~ greatest obstacle is the unhabitable deserts to be crossed between the Little Colorado river and Sierra Nevada, but even these are less formidable than on any other route.

The first section of the ~~road~~ route, between the frontier and the Rio Grande presents no ~~obstacles~~ difficulty, if the valley of that river be entered at the town of Albuquerque, by way of Anton Chico. At this point the main chain of the Rocky Mountains loses its continuity, being broken into small and detached masses or clumps, between which are gaps of easy access, an excellent wagon road joining the two towns above named, passes through one of these.

To attain this point, either the Arkansas or Canadian Rivers can be followed. The former presents fewer objections as a <u>site</u>, being

perhaps the best natural road in the world, but, in a measure devoid of the necessary materials for the purposes of construction, the only timber of any amount in its immediate vicinity being cotton wood which is utterly worthless except for fuel. Besides, its course involves a large and unnecessary detour of the North.

The following extract from the Report of Lt Simpson, Topgl Engrs, an officer of careful and diligent observation, of a reconnaissance in 1849, along the south side of the Canadian, throws much and valuable light on its practicability and advantages as a route for a Rail Road.

> "The route from Sante Fe on the south side of the Canadian River - I speak now of the general, not the particular route traveled - is in my opinion, practicable for the location of a railroad; and the line of its location should be, in my judgment, in order to the obtainment of the best grade, generally on the first riparian bend of the river- I mean the Canadian River.
>
> The advantages to be derived from this route, as one of location for the great national high way, are its comparative freedom from obstructions caused by snow; its passage for 275 miles through a region mostly of prairie and woodland character, this region thus furnishing the timber necessary for the work; its passage through the Indian country adjoining the State of Arkansas, where coal abounds; its passage through a country capable of affording all requisite stone material and the necessary supply of water; its line of location being entirely between and parallel to and never crossing, the two only great rivers of the country traversed. These are, in the main, the advantages which this great route possesses."

The reasons for entering the valley of the Rio Grande at Albuquerque, by way of Anton Chico, are the ease with which the Rocky Mountains can be passed through, and the absence of difficulty in ascending the dividing ridge between the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean - the Rocky Mountains to the north of this as far as the Arkansas River, presenting an impassable barrier - Besides it must necessarily develope the valley of the Rio Pecos, one of the most fertile in New Mexico. To pass much further south the famous Llano Estacado, or Staked plain, and a country broken into canons and rugged mesas interpose.

The average grade is almost nothing- the difference of elevation between the western boundary of Missouri and Anton Chico is about 5000 feet, and the distance to be traveled about 700 miles - giving an average ascending grade of 7 and 1/7 feet to the mile; from Anton Chico to Albuquerque, is about 100 miles, and difference of elevation about 1000 feet. This is the only part of this section of the road where any obstacle is apprehended, but it has been long traveled with loaded wagons, and but little labor will be required to make it a good route for a Rail Road.

From Albuquerque north to Embuda, and south to Valverde, near the Jornado del Muerto, extends the valley of the Rio Grande, the largest and most fertile in New Mexico, studded with towns and Ranches, the greater part being under cultivation, and the extremities of easy access.

Santa Fe, except that it is the capital of the Territory presents no claims worth a notice - it is more difficult of approach from the east, and situated as it is, upon the banks of a thread of water, hardly to be designated a stream, it cannot possibly derive any value from the country adjoining it. Besides to reach the Rio Grande by this route, a descent of some 1800 feet in forty five miles is to be overcome.

The next section of the Road is from Albuquerque to the Big Colorado, by what is called Walker's Route, and the first object here to be attained is overcoming the mesa or table land on the western side of the Rio Grande. Two

ways present themselves- the first is to follow the usually travelled road to Zuni, which starts from the village of Atrisco, nearly opposite Albuquerque, and the other is to ascend the valley of the Rio Grande to the mouth of the Jemez River, and ascend the latter as far as the Mexican town of San Ysidro. This is preferable, on account of its gradual ascent, and the narrowness of the Rio Grande, at the point where the Jemez River enters it - affording no obstacle to its being bridged, the Spaniards having done so at the Indian village of San Felipe, some ten miles above this place, when Pike was in the country in 1807.

The Jemez River should be left at San Ysidro, and following the road by the Soda Springs, an excellent pass through the mesas, and level road is found to the divide between the waters of the Rio Grande and the San Juan, an affluent of the Big Colorado. From here according to information there is no doubt a road can be found to the Ojo del Oso (a large spring with abundant fine timber near), situated in the depression between the Zuni and Chuska mountains.

An exploration with a view of opening a wagon road from Fort Defiance to the Ojo del Gallo, by the Ojo del Oso, is either made, or being made by Maj. Kendrick, U. S. A.

To ascend the mesa opposite Albuquerque by the Zuni road (the one first alluded to), a heavier grade and more labor would be required - once on the summit and a northerly detour is necessary to avoid the heavy hills and sand in the vicinity of the Rio Puerco. Beyond the Rio Puerco, the road passes by the Indian town of Laguna, (and some 15 miles to the north of which are several Mexican settlements), following up the bed of the San Jose to near the foot of the Zuni Mountains in longitude 108.20 west from Greenwich. These mountains extend from the Rio Grande nearly opposite the Jornada del Muerto, to about latitude 35.30, where they gradually give out, forming the southern boundary of a small valley in which is situated the Ojo del Oso. The northern side of this valley is made by the Chuska Mountains, which continue in a northerly direction to the Rio San Juan,

the upper part of the range being called the Tunecha.

There are four passes through these different ranges - the upper is the one through which Col. J.M.Washington passed in 1849 whilst making an expedition into the Navajo country, and bears his name - this is perfectly impracticable even for wagons. The next is at the Ojo del Oso, and from all accounts is capable of being made into a good road. The third is called the Zuni pass, and is the same Col Washington passed through on his return. It is steep and difficult, and impracticable for a Rail Road. The fourth and most southerly one is on the Camino del Obispo, passing by the Ojo de la Jarra - this presents few or no obstacles, the ascent on either side being very gradual, and a careful examination will demonstrate its practicab(ility). All these passes, except the Ojo del Oso, I have been through, and speak from personal observation.

From the western base of these Mountains to the Indian village of Zuni in longitude 109° west of Greenwich there is no difficulty - and from here to the big Colorado are two routes, joining on the little Colorado at the point marked "Cascade". The first is to follow the course of the Zuni River until it debouches into the little Colorado, then follow this stream to the Cascades - some little bridging would be required, as the river is narrow and material ample, this element is of a secondary consideration. The valley of the little Colorado is in places furnished with an abundance of cotton wood and cedar, and is susceptible of being largely cultivated.

The other route is to follow the usual wagon road to Fort Defiance, as far as a small stream called the Calites, thence striking west through the Moqui Villages, and joining the first road at the Cascade on the Little Colorado.

The following extract from a letter just received from Maj E.Backus, 3rd U.S.Infy, and recently in command of Fort Defiance, will, from the well known and reliable character of the author, help to confirm you in the belief of the practicability of the route I have marked out.

"The distance from Fort Defiance, by a careful estimation is about ninety miles due west to the first village of Moqui, and about 120 miles to the 7th village. No road has been opened between the two points. Lt Schroeder, 3rd Infy made a reconnaisance of the route, by my order, with the view of opening a wagon road, and he found the road practicable, and reported that a road could be easily opened, with a few laborers - that it would require but little more work than was requisite at intervals, to cut away the timber. The Moqui Indians raise corn and wheat, and have usually a large surplus of corn. They brought it through to Fort Defiance upon mules and burros for a market. The Seven Villages are estimated by Dr Tenbroeck, who accompanied Lt Schroeder, to contain about 10,000 souls. As they are habitually hard laborers, I am not certain that they cannot be advantageously employed as laborers, upon any road to be constructed. The Moquis are said to have produced much larger crops, the last season than usual. I have reason to believe such is the fact, because the Zunians have quadrupled their fields. Lt Schroeder and myself estimated their fields of corn and wheat to cover 10,000 acres, when we passed them in August last. I think the Moquis cultivate more ground habitually than the Zunians.

Fort Defiance, is hardly on the route for a road to the Pacific. My impression is, it should follow the road from Zuni to Fort Defiance, as far as Calites, 23 miles below Fort Defiance, and thence proceed direct to Moqui - The Indians say, this is the best and shortest route, and has the most water upon it. There is an abundance of timber (pine) and stone, between Zuni and Moqui, and a large bed of semibituminous coal, twelve miles from Zuni on the road. There is but little snow on this route during the winter. In 1852 I do not think it exceeded six inches, while forty miles to the north of Fort Defiance it was four or five feet deep.

There is much broken and hilly ground between Zuni and Moqui - but it is not in any respect so formidable as the route over which the Pennsylvania road passes east of Pittsburgh. Water is abundant in places, but at intervals of ten, fifteen or twenty miles, at times.

I know nothing of the Ojo del Oso, exceept from the Indians and traders. It has a good supply of water and is surrounded by timber - Maj Kendrick is now about to open a wagon road from the Ojo del Gallo to the Ojo del Oso and thence to Fort Defiance. It will shorten the road about 40 miles, by estimation.

My impression is that no very obstacles to a Rail road, will be found between the Rio Grande and Little Colorado, west of Moqui - the route is well worth a minute examination, and in my opinion presents fewer obstacles than any other."

From the Little Colorado to Walker's Pass in the Sierra Nevada, two ways present themselves- the first is to leave that river some 30 or 40 miles below the cascade, and striking out nearly west to the Zampais (?) Creek, or Sandy of Walker, follow it to its mouth, which is opposite that of the Rio Virgen, and just below the termination of the big Canon. Crossing the Big Colorado at this point, the Virgen is followed up as far as Muddy Creek, when the bed of the latter becomes the route, to the Vegas de Santa Clara, on the Spanish Trail.

The second Route is to leave the little Colorado near the same spot, travel in a westerly direction for about 40 miles, then turn nearly S.W. until Bill Williams' Fork is met with, some distance from its head. The course of this stream should be followed until an opportunity offers of reaching the Big Colorado nearly opposite the mouth of the Mohave, which can be followed to the Spanish Trail. From this point to Walker's Pass is a level plain, presenting no obstacles beyond the scarcity of wood and water. By this route, the bases of the San Francisco and Bill Williams' Mountains are higged, thus affording an abundance of pine and cedar timber.

Of the country between the Little Colorado and Walker's pass, no exploration has been made except by Walker, an old and experienced guide and Mountaineer. He has crossed it several times, and assured me it was the shortest and most practicable route he ever traveled -

always finding an abundant supply of wood, grass and water. He has gone by this route from the California Settlements to Santa Fe in twenty five days and returned in 1851 by the same route in thirty two days - he says the most difficult part of the whole distance is in the mountains already mentioned between Zuni and the Rio Grande - this to my own knowledge is of but little consideration.

The scarcity of wood and water on part of the route I have sketched, is its greatest objection- but this applies equally if not more, to the route by the Salt Lake, or the one south of the Gila. On the upper route from Pilot Peak to Humboldt River, the country is much broken by isolated ranges of low mountains, rising from sandy plains, affording but little wood, grass or water. Along Humboldt River the country is more rolling, and with better vegatation - Willow in abundance skirts this stream - large timber is scarce, and that only cotton wood. From the Sink of Humboldt River to the head of Kern River, the country is broken by low basaltic ridges of mountains. This southern detour from the Sink of Humboldt River, seems unavoidable, as there are no passes, practicable for a Rail Road, north of that which leads into the head of the San Joaquin Valley by Kern River. In support of this, I extract the following from a letter by Mr. E. M. Kern, who was assistant to Col. Fremont in 1845.

"The entrance into the main mountain in 1845, was so gradual that it was hardly noticed- we had nothing with us to note the height - Kern River makes a Canon through which it enters the valley - this might be made a good road, if so it would form an excellent pass into the San Joaquin Valley. Before entering this pass, the country to the east opens into a large plain, broken only by an occasional sandy or basaltic ridge. In our first ascent we could see the peaks of the mountains in the vicinity of the Mojave River, and there can be no difficulty in crossing from the Mojave to this point, except the scarcity of wood and water - but the country is a level plain. Our descent into the valley was broken and rough, though not

difficult. The mean temperature at the head of Kern River, from Dec 27th to Jan 17th was at Sunrise 26° noon 60° Sunset 52° - the snow was about two and a half feet deep on the highest peaks on the 20th Jany. A better road might be found on further examination. This is the only pass through the mountains south of the present emigrant road (which is certainly not made for a Rail Road) - this I know having traveled down the eastern side of the Sierra from near the above point to Kern River. There may be a way through by Owens River, but not for wagons, and I think it very doubtful for mules. Col Fremont tried a pass from the valley up the San Joaquin but failed. As regards Walker's route which follows up Pass Creek, I know but little, but from what Walker told me it could be made a good road, as the mountains give nearly out at this point. Fremont in his Report, speaks of it as an excellent one for horses, and says, 'with a little labor or perhaps with a more perfect examination it might be made practicable for wagons.' Tis useless to imagine that a pass can be found North of Kern River for a Rail Road into either the San Joquin or Sacramento Valleys."

The principal objections to the Northern route, are the obstructions caused by the heavy fall of snow on some portions of it - its passage for eighteen hundred miles, through a country destitute of civilized population, except at the Pueblo de San Carlos, Hardscrabble, and the settlements about the Salt Lake- the first two of but trifling consequences - the impossibility of its passage through the Sierra Nevada, where it is proposed to strike it - involving the necessity of a southern detour of some two or three hundred (miles) to reach the only practicable passes in this range- and its almost purely local character, requiring long branches to reach it from the southern portion of the states.

The route by El Paso and by the Gila, has the same objections as the last one above mentioned - the first part of this route, which lies in western Texas is destitute of timber, and does not present other facilities of construction equal to that proposed by the Canadian River. From El Paso, perhaps the most practic-

able way is to strike out in a westerly direction to the Rio San Pedro, follow it to the Gila, and thence to the Big Colorado - of this part of the route I know nothing - From the Big Colorado to Carrizo Creek - an inhospitable desert of about one hundred thirty miles in width, has to be crossed - affording with the exception of the Mesquite, no vegetation besides some bright and rare flowers and shrubs, peculiar to such an arid barren spot. Water is uncertain and at long intervals. Besides its inhospitable character, the heavy sand, ever changing in its nature, presents a formidable obstacle.

The pass through the Coast range near Warner's Ranch, in practicability bears no comparison to those through the different mountain ranges, the road is steep and difficult in places, showing between the Ranches of Santa Isabella and San Pasqual a difference in elevation of 2334 feet.

San Diego possesses no population or accessible fertile back country, like San Francisco- and its harbor is far inferior.

In conclusion The following summary of the advantages of the route I have indicated, is offered:

Its central position, the connection from points on either side being nearly equidistant - its directness and most practicable passage through the different mountain ridges to be encountered- part of its location in a region of country already largely settled, rich in mineral wealth, and agricultural resources, and capable in itself of supplying the necessary labor and material for its construction in this section - its freedom from snow- The knowledge of the greater part of the whole distance, requiring but few explorations to determine at once its proper locality - the shortness of the intervals between civilized population, and its entrance into and passage through one of the most fertile valleys in California.

There are of course, numerous and serious obstacles to be overcome - such as scarcity of timber and water, but these are less formidable than on any other route. Let the road pass where it will, an inhospitable region of the country must be crossed between the Rocky Mts and Sierra Nevada, and this appears to be the most facile by

the route I advance.

An exploration from the Little Colorado to Walker's Pass, returning by the old Spanish trail, would at once settle all speculation in regard to these regions, and I feel sure, confirm the truth of what I have advanced.

Most of the foregoing has been collected under my own observation, and the rest from the most reliable sources. Hoping that it will at least meet your views, and give rise to a rigid inquiry.

I am very respectfully
Your Obt Servt
Richard H.Kern.

To
Hon Wm. M. Gwin
U.S. Senate
Washington
D.C.

The Fort Sutter Papers

Jacob Snyder's Letter

Relating his

Experiences of 1845

with

Wagons on the Route to the West

and

Urging Kern to Write a History

of the

Times and Events in which Kern Participated
at Old Fort Sutter
in 1846

San Francisco
1860

Introduction to Volume XXXVIII

THE concluding manuscript of the Fort Sutter Papers, written in 1860, is contained in the present volume. Fifteen years had elapsed since Edward Kern took up his westward way, to become involved in the chain of historic events of which these documents were so much a part, and with which they had so much to do.

It is with peculiar appropriateness, therefore, that they should come to an end with this long and intimate letter from one of the men of the old fort days, and that what he says in it should relate to those times and—strangely enough—to the collection of papers themselves.

The author of this final missive was Jacob R. Snyder, a fellow-townsman and close friend of Edward during his command of Sutter's Fort, and a lieutenant in the California Battalion. (See Manuscript Number 17 in Vol. VI.) The intervening years had witnessed his rise to a place of prominence in the affairs of his adopted state. In 1847, soon after Kern's departure, he had been appointed surveyor for the middle department of the newly acquired territory. In 1848, together with Hensley and Reading, he established a trading post at Sacramento, and the following year was chosen to represent that district in the constitutional convention. In 1850 he became a member of the banking firm of James King of William. In 1851 he was elected to represent the city of San Francisco in the state senate, and in 1853 was appointed by President Pierce as treasurer of the United States mint at San Francisco, which office he held until 1860. He retired two years later from public life to his home in the peaceful and quiet "vale of Sonoma," where he died in 1878 at the age of 65.

The outstanding and exceedingly significant feature of the 1860 letter by Snyder is a series of statements pertaining to this collection of documents, to Kern's possession of them at the time Snyder wrote his letter, and to Kern's proposed use of the material. Snyder introduces this part of his letter by a peculiar reference to Fremont in which he conveys to Kern a rumor that the former explorer is preparing a book, which he characterizes as a "great work (most of which belongs to other people.)" Following this adverse opinion regarding the Chieftain of earlier days, Snyder enters into a discussion concerning Kern's papers and the use to which they are to be put. He says: "I am glad to see that you are getting your eyes open to the fact that there is such a man alive as E. M. Kern, and that he has material gathered after a series of years hard labors which he intends appropriating to his own personal benefit. You should have attended to Kern's interests long ago."

It is impossible to interpret the passages just quoted in any other sense than as an expressed belief on Snyder's part (after statements made to him) that

Kern intended to base a printed history on his historical manuscripts. Then follows in the letter another remark that (taken in connection with what had preceded) constitutes a strange revelation. Snyder goes on to say: "I cannot see what claim others can have on your property without giving a compensation."

It seems necessary to interpret this passage as indicating that some one unnamed was contesting with Kern for the right or privilege of using his historical papers. Whether or not Snyder's guarded reference is to Fremont must remain a matter for speculation. It is reasonably clear, however, that in 1860 Kern had possession of his manuscript material and intended to use it himself, and had indicated such a purpose to Snyder, coupled with information that some one else also desired the papers.

The letter, in addition, discusses early overland emigration to California, giving the experiences of the Townshend party of 1844 and of the Swazey-Todd train of 1845. Snyder was himself a member of the last named expedition.

In concluding his letter Snyder unconsciously was writing "the end" to the long series of documents whose fate and history we have followed. His final words are a fitting close to the Fort Sutter Papers. "You should," he says, "have collected enough information during your wanderings to make two or three very interesting volumes. That would put you in funds to buy a tract of land in our country, where you could find rest for the balance of your days. Just think of old Kern, under his own vine and fig tree in the evening of his days!"

Thus ends the Fort Sutter Papers. With them were found two military passes issued to Kern in 1862. They furnish a silent testimony that Kern did not join his old friend in the fruitful valley of Sonoma. The spirit of patriotism and the urge of adventure were still strong within him. Once more he had become a soldier. His books were never to be written.

San Francisco
Nov 3rd 1860

Dear Sir:-

I am in receipt of yours of the 13th Sept last with photograph for self and Hueston for which we are much obliged to you - they are good likenesses. I fully sympathize with you in your political feelings; the times of '47 in Monterey are doubtless preferable to the political turmoil which now surrounds you at the Capitol. We in California do not feel the great pressure from political matters that you of the Atlantic do, for we are not surrounded by factious States kept in constant excitement by such questions - no man can really enjoy life by being constantly entangled in a political net where it appears that nothing but a system of duplicity can serve him; a man of any self respect must sicken in his passage through the filth and mire of politics which the best crawl through to get to the goal of their ambition- here we will drop the subject.

Dr Townsend and party brought waggons as far as Trukee Lake in 1844 - I am not confident that he succeeded in getting them over the mountain - Moses Shellenberger remained all winter at the Lake with the property and I think in the Spring they had assistance to bring everything to the Fort.

Our Party in 1845 brought waggons through the Johnson Pass to the head waters of Bear River and so on through to the Sac Valley without interruption - they were probably the first party that came directly through. There was no trail or sign of any when we passed from the Oregon Road over the Goose Creek Mountains to the Head of Marys River - neither was there any sign of a trail or of any one having passed over the road that we made- We had to cut the undergrowth in many places to get along, not making more than three miles per day sometimes.

As regards J. C. F(remont) the papers say that he is preparing his great work (most of which belongs to other people) and that it will be published soon.

I am glad to see that you are getting your eyes open to the fact that there is such a man alive as E.M.Kern, and that he has material gathered after a serious of years hard labor which he intends appropriating to his own personal benefit. You should have attended to Kern's interests long ago. I cannot see what claims others can have on your property, without giving a compensation.

You should have collected information during your wanderings to make two or three very interesting volumes - that would put you in funds to buy a tract of land in our country where you could find rest for the ballance of your days. Read the enclosed, which is true:

Proposition to Plant Vineyards

(clipping inserted)

The time named here is no bar only that the planting season commences in Dec so that the cuttings have the benefit of the rains through winter.

Just think of Old Kern under his own vine and fig tree in the evening of his days.

Truly yours
J.R.Snyder

To
E.M.Kern, Esq.

(Manuscript Number 160)

Office of Provost Marshall.

St Louis, Mo. Jan. 4th,1862

Permission is granted to ...Edw. M. Kern ....
to Pass beyond the limits of the City and County
of St Louis to go to .....Philadelphia .....
Issued by .....

Geo. E. Leighton

Capt. Provost Marshall.

(On Reverse Side)

Description of Person.

Name .....Edw. M. Kern.....

Age .....41 .....Height .....6 ft....

Color of Eyes.....Gray...Hair.....Auburn..

Nativity.....Pennsylvania.....

Residence.....Philadelphia.....

Peculiarities

.....

I hereby acknowledge that I accept this Pass upon my word of honor, solemnly pledged, that I will ever bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America.....

(Signed)
Edw. M. Kern
Topgl Engr.

(Manuscript Number 161)

Office of Provost Marshall General.

Department of the Missouri

St.Louis, Jan. 5th, 1862.

To any U. S. Military Officer Commanding:

Be it known that permission is granted to...

E. M. Kern.....to Pass beyond the limits of the

Post and District of St. Louis, in this Department,

to go to .....Cincinnati, O.....

Issued by Geo. E. Leighton

Provost Marshal, Post and District of St.Louis.

Bernard G. Farrar,

Provost Marshal General.

(On Reverse Side)

Description of Person.

Name.....Edw. M. Kern.....

Age.....41.....Height.....6 ft.....

Color of Eyes.....Gray.....Hair...Black....

Nativity.....Pennsylvania.....

Residence.....Philadelphia.....

Peculiarities.....Brilliant.....

I hereby solemnly swear that I accept this Pass on the express condition and understanding that I am a loyal citizen of the United States, and that I will ever bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America.

(Signed)

Edw. M. Kern

The Fort Sutter Papers

The Published
Pictures, Portraits and Maps
Collectively Depicting the
Indians, Scenery and Topography
of
The Far West
Drawn by
Edward Kern and Richard Kern

And which constitute the First Extensive Pictorial Representation of those Regions made by American Explorers and Artists for the Information of the American Government and People

1846—1851

Introduction to Volume XXXIX

IN this, the concluding volume of the Fort Sutter Papers, are contained the engraved plates, lithographs, and maps drawn by Edward and Richard Kern during the period of their services in the western wilderness following the Fremont catastrophe.

A study of this remarkable series of views—upward of one hundred in number—permits an appreciation of the extent to which they (in their capacities as topographical engineers, explorers, scientists, and artists) contributed toward the world's first detailed knowledge of the territories penetrated by them, and which they depicted through the instrumentality of their work as here shown.

These were the primary delineations of one of the most extraordinary regions of the world, both in its natural aspects and in the character of its aborigines. The drawings (and all the maps except one, to be later mentioned) were made during the Simpson Expedition of 1849, of which both the Kerns were members, and the Sitgreaves Exploration of 1851, whereof Richard Kern was the topographer and artist. They were thereafter published by the United States Government as integral parts of the official reports concerning those expeditions.

The Simpson Expedition started from Fort Smith, Arkansas, in April of 1849, and the official narrative of its work was later issued as "Senate Executive Document No. 64, 1st Session, 31st Congress." A reference to the second of the maps herein contained will show that Edward Kern was Simpson's first assistant in the mapping of the entire route between Fort Smith and Santa Fe. At the latter point Simpson was sent on an expedition against the hostile Navajos, and the sixth map bears a title establishing Kern's connection with this enterprise, as well as his authorship of the map itself.

The first seventy-two of the engravings were made from drawings done by the two brothers during their services in connection with this expedition through the unknown country west of Santa Fe. The scientific knowledge presented to the world by them may be summarized as follows: They show:

The earliest portrayals of the Navajo, Zuñi, Jemez, Pecos and Moqui Indians, and the existing pueblo of Jemez;

The architecture, ruins, and plans of the prehistoric pueblos of Bonito, Una Vida, Weje-Gi, Chelho-Kette, Hungo-Pavie, and Pintado; the pueblo on the summit of the mesa known as Inscription Rock; and the thereafter celebrated ruins of the cliff dwellings of Chelly Cañon;

The cañons, mesas, passes, mountains, and other remarkable rock formations which characterize the topography of the region;

The ordinary and ceremonial costumes of the natives; their body painting; utensils and accouterments, their decorative art;

The hieroglyphs discovered in the Chaco Cañon, the Moro, and elsewhere;

The north and south aspects of Inscription Rock, with the manuscripts cut therein by the Conquistadors;

Actual portraits of ethnological types. This series was done almost entirely by Edward Kern. The portrait of Hoosta, however, is wholly the work of Richard. It is the picture spoken of by Dickinson in Manuscript Number 143. (Vol. No. 33.)

The thirty-two engravings depicting discoveries made during the Sitgreaves Exploration are of a nature and importance corresponding to those of the Simpson Expedition. They show the Sierra Wogallon, Cañon Peak, the San Francisco mountains, the regions of the Big and Little Colorado, the archæological ruins, ethnological studies, native costumes, utensils and weapons. They also depict certain newly discovered reptiles, birds, and mammals, and embrace plates showing the native industries of the aborigines visited.

The first of the seven maps, though unsigned, is believed to have been in whole or in part the work of Edward Kern. It is accredited to the Adjutant General's Office in California during the Conquest, and is dated June 19, 1847. The engraving was done in Philadelphia—Kern's home. It shows the California localities which were of principal importance during the events of 1846 and 1847, together with the distances between those points and the strength of the several garrisons. The list of military posts is headed by "Fort Sacramento, or Suter's," the garrison whereof is given as 31 men. The route of Fremont's march southward is also shown.

Maps Number 2, 3, 4, and 5 are those of the Simpson Route between Fort Smith and Santa Fe. All are the work of Edward Kern. As the maps attest, the road was the first created and opened for emigration to California by this southern route.

The final topographical item of the collection is the very large map drawn by Richard Kern depicting the route pursued by the Sitgreaves Expedition. A feature of interest contained in this map is the engraved reference near Longitude 112 West, Latitude 35. At that spot, in Kern's careful pen-work, is situated "Bill Williams Mountain." Possibly Kern himself named the peak in memory of the man with whom he had endured so much suffering, and who had finally perished in company with his own brother.

The engravings and maps here discussed were part of the original collection of which this volume is a transcript.

The student desiring to consult them is therefore referred to the printed reports mentioned in the foregoing Introduction.